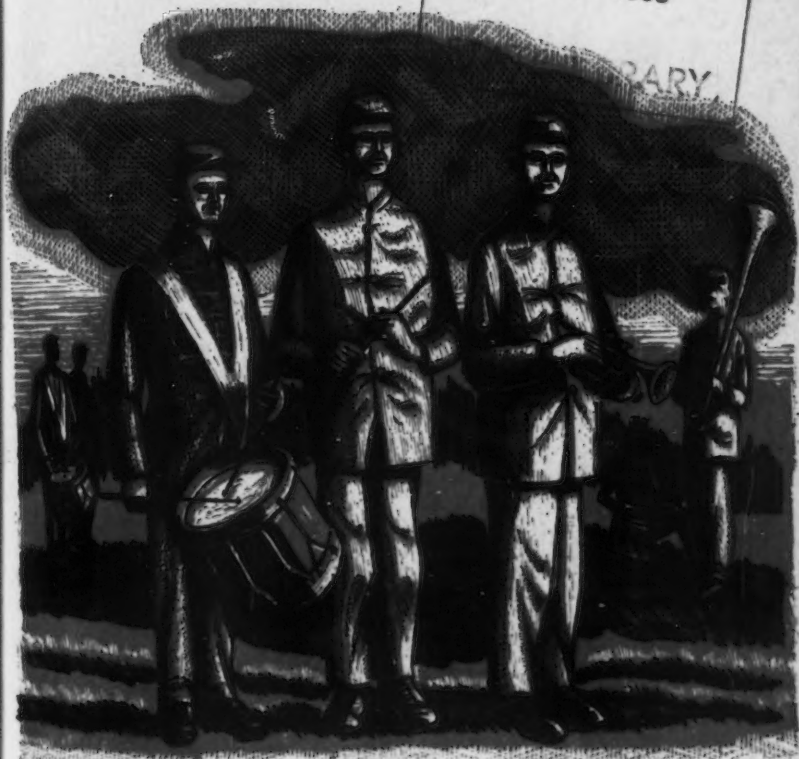


A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF STUDIES IN

# CIVIL WAR HISTORY

CALIFORNIA  
SEP 24 1958  
RARY



VOLUME FOUR NUMBER THREE

SEPTEMBER 1958

# 3D BATTLE MAP OF GETTYSBURG

... adds *NEW* dimension to Civil War reading



Just published! An authentic scale "model" in relief of the Gettysburg battlefield. Accurate, full-size copy of General Warren's famous map in the official Civil War *Atlas*. Printed in five colors on heavy plastic with vacuum molded topographic features and raised boarder. Size 13 1/2" x 20 1/2". The perfect Christmas gift. Other Civil War relief maps being prepared—send for information.

Low introductory price  
10-day money back guarantee  
if not delighted

**\$6.50**  
postpaid

**HAVERFORD MAP CO.**

P.O. Box 58-C, Haverford, Penna.

## AMERICAN HISTORY RECORDS

By The Worlds Largest Producer of Authentic Folk Music on Records

All albums listed below consist of 1 10" Long Playing 33-1/3 rpm record unless otherwise noted ( 10" Long Play records—\$4.25)

- FH2151 BALLAD OF THE REVOLUTION (1767-1775)
- FA2152 BALLAD OF THE REVOLUTION (1776-1781)
- FH5001 (the 2 above records packaged in box with 28 page booklet)
- FA2163 BALLADS OF THE WAR OF 1812 (Vol. 1)
- FA2164 BALLADS OF THE WAR OF 1812 (Vol. 2)
- FH5002 (the 2 above records packaged in box)
- FA2175 FRONTIER BALLADS (Vol. 1)
- FA2176 FRONTIER BALLADS (Vol. 2)
- FH5003 (the 2 above records packaged in box)
- FA2187 BALLADS OF THE CIVIL WAR (Vol. 1)
- FA2188 BALLADS OF THE CIVIL WAR (Vol. 2)
- FH5004 (the 2 above records packaged in box)
- FH2191 HERITAGE USA Vol. 1—Speeches & Documents
- FH2192 HERITAGE USA Vol. 2—Speeches & Documents
- FH5006 (the 2 above records packaged in box)

for complete free catalog of over 400 Long Playing records, write to:

**FOLKWAYS RECORDS**

117 West 46th Street : New York City, N.Y.



# Civil War History

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE  
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Editor

CLYDE C. WALTON

*Illinois State Historical Library*

SPECIAL ISSUE:  
CIVIL WAR MUSIC

ALBERT T. LUPER

*Guest Editor*

---

VOL. IV

*September 1958*

NO. III

## *Editorial Advisory Board*

ALLEN G. BOGUE

BRUCE CATTON

J. WINSTON COLEMAN, JR.

HENRY S. COMMAGER

E. M. COULTER

AVERY CRAVEN

DAVID DONALD

CLIFFORD DOWDEY

OTTO EISENSCHIML

JOSEPH L. EISENDRATH, JR.

DAVID J. HARKNESS

RICHARD B. HARWELL

ROBERT S. HENRY

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

STANLEY F. HORN

MACKINLAY KANTOR

ROBERT L. KINCAID

BERTRAM W. KORN

WILBUR G. KURTZ

E. B. LONG

ELLA LONN

R. GERALD MCMURTRY

M. KENNETH MACINTYRE

ROY A. MERIDITH

CHARLES T. MILLER

RALPH G. NEWMAN

ALLAN NEVINS

WELDON PETZ

C. PERCY POWELL

PHILIP D. SANG

BOYD B. STUTLER

ALFRED WHITAL STERN

WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND

WALTER TROHAN

JUSTIN G. TURNER

FRANK E. VANDIVER

EZRA J. WARNER

BERNARD A. WEISBERGER

RICHARD S. WEST

BELL I. WILEY

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS

# Contents for September 1958

VOLUME FOUR

NUMBER THREE

## CIVIL WAR MUSIC

INTRODUCTION, <i>by Albert T. Luper, Guest Editor</i>	211
EMMETT'S WALK-AROUNDS: POPULAR THEATER IN NEW YORK, <i>by Hans Nathan</i>	213
REGIMENT BAND OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH NORTH CAROLINA, <i>by Julius Leinbach. Edited by Donald M. McCorkle</i>	225
A CHAMBER OPERA WITH A CIVIL WAR PLOT, <i>by Parks Grant</i>	237
JOHN BROWN'S BODY, <i>by Boyd B. Stutler</i>	251
A NOTE ON NEGRO SPIRITUALS, <i>by Gilbert Chase</i>	261
LINCOLN AND THE MUSIC OF THE CIVIL WAR, <i>by Kenneth A. Bernard</i>	269
THE STAR OF THE BONNIE BLUE FLAG, <i>by Richard B. Harwell</i>	285
SALON MUSIC IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY, <i>by Hoyle Carpenter</i>	291
MUSIC IN TEXAS, <i>by Lota M. Spell</i>	301
THE BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM, <i>by Dena J. Epstein</i>	307
SOME MODERN RECORDINGS OF CIVIL WAR MUSIC, <i>by Robert J. Dietz</i>	319
MUSIC DURING THE CIVIL WAR: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY, <i>by Fred Blum</i>	325
THE CONTINUING WAR, <i>edited by James I. Robertson, Jr.</i>	338
BOOK REVIEWS, <i>edited by Charles T. Müller</i>	343

## *Subscriptions & Manuscripts*

CIVIL WAR HISTORY is published quarterly by the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. Editor: Clyde C. Walton, Jr.; Associate Editors: Charles T. Miller and William E. Porter; Managing Editor: Ruth E. Stout; Art Editor: Dale Ballantyne. Copyright 1958 by the State University of Iowa. Second-class mail privileges authorized at Iowa City, Iowa.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES in the United States and Canada are \$5.00 per year, or \$4.00 per member when Civil War Round Tables or Lincoln Groups enter block subscribers of five or more. Subscriptions to countries in the Pan-American postal union are \$5.40 per year, and to other foreign countries \$5.75. Single copies of the magazine are available at \$1.50 from The Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, 18 East Chestnut Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.

MANUSCRIPTS of a general nature should be sent to the Editor, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois. Notes and Queries, material for *The Continuing War* and *For Collectors Only*, book reviews or books for consideration should be sent to the editors concerned, at the addresses listed in department headings.

## CIVIL WAR MUSIC: Introduction

THE MUSIC OF MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA exhibits a colorful variety of idioms, reflecting the diversified social, economic, political, geographic, and educational conditions of its people. The aging towns and cities of the eastern seaboard and the plantation life of the South contrasted with the dynamic new cities of the Middle and Far West and with frontier life. Though our fine art music had not yet developed a native dialect (most of the serious music-making consisted of transplanted European music), substantial contributions to an American tradition were being made before and during the years of the Civil War. Central to this tradition was the folk and popular music, especially the songs, of urban and rural communities and of the expanding frontier. The events and enthusiasm of the war gave an increased impetus to the production of this type of music.

Three of the studies in this collection—those of Mr. Stutler, Mrs. Epstein, and Mr. Harwell—examine the history and circumstances of creation and performance of some of the songs that were thrown into prominence during the course of the war. Largely concerned with songs also is Mr. Dietz's review of recent recordings of Civil War music.

Professor Bernard relates some of the occasions when Lincoln took time from his daily burdens to listen to music—both songs and military band music—while Dr. McCorkle has edited an interesting account of the activities of a southern Moravian band that saw action at Gettysburg. These musicians from Salem, N.C., were descendants of the Moravians from Pennsylvania and North Carolina who had been the most accomplished single group of American musicians during the late eighteenth century.

Professor Nathan's examination of the "walk-arounds," an original contribution to the history of the popular minstrel show, is taken from his recently completed book on Daniel Decatur Emmett, one of the two outstanding composers and performers of minstrel music. (The other was Stephen Collins Foster.) The essay on Negro spirituals by Dr. Chase constitutes a footnote to a section in his widely acclaimed book, *America's Music*.

Mr. Blum summarizes the development of musical institutions (orchestras, bands, choruses, chamber groups, religious music, music schools, etc.) in various parts of the country during the war decade and the surrounding years, and mentions noteworthy examples of native composers who made serious attempts to produce works in the larger forms. A similar report is Mrs. Spell's, wherein she emphasizes the situation in one region during this period: the impact of the war on music-making in Texas and the near Southwest.

Also representing the fine art tradition is Dr. Grant's engaging account of a recent chamber opera written and performed on a southern university campus. Its story derives from actual events that occurred on that campus during the war. Standing on a middle ground between the serious art music and the popular idiom is the salon music written for piano during the mid-century period. Many bound collections of sheet music editions of this *genre* have survived. Professor Carpenter provides a partial account of one such collection and of one particular piece in it that is related to the events of the war.

Though considerable gaps remain in our knowledge concerning this branch in the history of our common national heritage, some blank spaces are now filled by the essays contained in this Special Music issue. The editor especially thanks the contributors for the forbearance and patience they have maintained during the delays that have attended the appearance of this issue.

ALBERT T. LUPER  
State University of Iowa  
*Guest Editor*



*Professor Nathan holds a doctorate from Berlin University and has done postgraduate study at Harvard University. In addition to published articles on Walt Whitman, minstrel music, and American folk music, he has completed a book on the minstrel-composer Daniel D. Emmett and an anthology of early minstrel music. His other publications range over such diverse topics as the medieval motet, nineteenth-century opera, and contemporary music. Formerly on the staff at Michigan State University, since the fall of 1957 he has been doing research at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton.*

## Emmett's Walk-Arounds: Popular Theater in New York

HANS NATHAN

THE NAME OF DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT, once on the lips of millions of Americans, is now all but forgotten. Yet many of the best-known songs, dances, and banjo tunes of the forties, fifties, and sixties came from his pen. He was a vital contributor to nineteenth-century Negro minstrelsy, entertaining urban and rural audiences as a banjoist, fiddler, singer, and comedian.

His work not only includes music but lyrics, stump speeches, and plays. Their importance transcends their contribution to the history of the early American popular theater and of early popular music, for their hard-bitten humor, their disarming freshness lend them an intrinsic value. Like the oils of itinerant American painters, Emmett's is a folk art, addressing those who, either out of naïveté or sophistication, can delight in something unpolished and limited in character but direct and sharply defined.

The Bryant's Minstrels in New York, whom Emmett joined in late 1858, were one of the most energetic and resourceful troupes of their time. Directed by three young comedians, Dan, Jerry, and Neil, and consisting of about a dozen performers, they began their shows on February 23, 1857, at Mechanics' Hall (472 Broadway), a place made famous previously by E. P. Christy. They aroused immediate attention, and after a few months were

obviously so far ahead of their competitors that the *New York Clipper* observed: "The different bands of Minstrels, in this city, have experienced a wonderful falling off in patronage since the advent among us of the 'Bryants' and soon spoke of them as "a combination of comical talent . . . never before witnessed in Ethiopian Minstrelsy. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

During the fall of 1858 a financial crisis swept the country and was bound to affect public entertainment. It was soon evident however, that minstrelsy did not suffer at all. On the contrary, it was "increasing in popularity" to the point that it began "to become a formidable rival to the more legitimate branches of the profession." The situation worked entirely to the advantage of the Bryants. Because of their high standards of performance, they drew enormous crowds and continued to do so even during the ensuing years when various reorganizations within the company and the death of Neil threatened to weaken them. There was a slight slackening of public interest in June, 1861 at the outbreak of the Civil War, but prosperity returned shortly after. Excelling in the "delineations of the plantation negro of the South, as well as of the uncommon darkey of the 'high latitudes' . . .,"<sup>2</sup> the Bryants stayed at Mechanics' Hall with undiminished acclaim up to the end of the season of 1866.<sup>3</sup> This, for all practical purposes, was the end of their prominence as Negro impersonators, although they continued to appear at different places until the late seventies. The fault lay with the practice of minstrelsy itself, which no longer encouraged them. It had become more and more an efficient variety show, featuring "snatches of opera, songs abounding in high-flown sentiment and considerable orchestral crash" instead of the vigorous, crude old-time songs. It is not surprising that under these circumstances, appearance in blackface was like "playing under false pretences" and that minstrels seemed less Negroes than a "pack of Signor Maccaronis in disguise."<sup>4</sup>

What animated the Bryant's Minstrels was the musical and theatrical skill and imagination of the three brothers. Dan was a banjoist and, like Jerry, a tambourine and bone player; both were expert dancers, while Neil excelled on the accordion and the flutina.<sup>5</sup> Dan's and Jerry's abilities as

<sup>1</sup> *New York Clipper*, February 23, June 20, September 12, 1857 (see also the issue of August 15, 1857).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, October 24 and December 26, 1857; May 22 and August 28, 1858; June 8 and July 20, 1861.

<sup>3</sup> *New York Herald*, February 23, 1857, and J. S. G. Hagan, *Records of the New York Stage, 1860-1870*, Vol. XI, p. 181, back (Harvard Theater Collection).

<sup>4</sup> *New York Clipper*, November 14, 1868.

<sup>5</sup> Prefaces in the songsters, *Bryant's Essence of Old Virginny* (New York, 1857), and *Bryant's Cane Brake Refrains* (New York, 1863). Jerry Bryant is listed as a tambourine player on the playbill of the Operatic Brothers and Sisters (a minstrel ensemble) of July 28, 1845 (reprinted in the *New York Clipper*, January 29, 1876) and as a bone player and dancer on playbills of the Ethiopian Minstrels (American Museum, New York, January 18, 1847) and Ordway's Aeolians (Boston, 1851).

comedians (with a complete command of the Negro dialect) must have been impressive. The distinguished actor Edwin Forrest never became "weary of seeing Dan Bryant play the part of the hungry negro in 'Old Times Rocks'" fully convinced "that there was not a finer bit of tragic acting to be seen in America at that time than . . . in this broadly funny" skit. Particularly memorable was Dan's "pathos . . . when, on being questioned as to when he had eaten a square meal, he answered humbly 'I had a peanut last week.'" <sup>6</sup>

When the Bryants began their activities in New York, they found that the realistic portrayal of plantation life was fading in favor of entertainment per se. They reversed this trend by displaying "the comicalities and eccentricities of negro life to a nicety"; and since they succeeded in reviving "the old and original style" of the genre they were justly recognized as the "connecting link between the days of minstrelsy of old, and those of the present time. . . ." <sup>7</sup> Fortunately they were at once imitated by their colleagues. Judged by its vitality, it would seem then that the forties represent the first period of the minstrel show, the early fifties its partial decline, and the time from 1857 to the late sixties its grand conclusion. Negro impersonation continued up to the beginning of the twentieth century, but it was kept alive only through a few gifted individual performers. As a co-operative venture it was no more than a pale reflection of the past.

The performances of the Bryants revealed meticulous planning, though mainly in details of the stage business. Much of the acting itself (and certainly its finer points) was wisely left to improvisation. <sup>8</sup> Like minstrels before them, the Bryants always blended Negro impersonations, which were both faithful and imaginatively slanted, with comment on the latest contemporary events. They possessed the "happy faculty of seizing upon prominent public matters," <sup>9</sup> and upon prominent personages (white as well as black), and of lampooning what seemed ludicrous or objectionable about them.

The setup of their programs was not unusual. It divided into the customary three parts: the first consisting mainly of white songs, choruses, and instrumental pieces; the second, of a more noticeable Negro flavor, offering musical and choreographic virtuoso acts (often followed by an operatic burlesque or some such scene); while the third was entirely devoted to the Southern plantation. The Negro element may not have appeared more fre-

<sup>6</sup> Olive Logan, "The Ancestry of Brudder Bones," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, April, 1879.

<sup>7</sup> *New York Clipper*, November 14, June 20, and December 26, 1857.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, October 16, 1858; August 24, 1861.

<sup>9</sup> *The Programme*, August 7, 1858, and the *New York Clipper*, September 25, 1858. See also Hans Nathan, "Two Inflation Songs of the Civil War," *Musical Quarterly* XXIX (April, 1943), 242-53.

quently with the Bryants than elsewhere, but it was worked out in greater and more genuine detail. There were no women in the cast: in keeping with the earlier tradition, all female roles were played by men.

Emmett stayed with the Bryants from October or November, 1858, to July, 1866, aside from his absence from New York during one season. When the outbreak of the Civil War in the summer of 1861 threatened the theatrical life of the city, or so it seemed, he again struck out for himself and went to Chicago, where he knew he would be welcome, organizing minstrel shows from early September on.<sup>10</sup> But when he saw that New York was gayer than ever, he returned to Mechanics' Hall in the spring of 1862.<sup>11</sup>

His work for the Bryants called for all of his talents at once. His main task was to write the tune and the words of walk-arounds, the finale and high point of their shows. He also appeared as a musical performer, singing, playing on the banjo and probably the fiddle, and on the fife and the drum as well.<sup>12</sup> These activities involved participation in many comical skits, some of which may have been penned by himself:<sup>13</sup> as an enthusiastic warbler in parodies of the popular singing families (Tyrolean or American), as the officer "Sig. Sardinerio" in a burlesque of Italian opera, as the "Ghost of Hamlet" (in a play called *Used Up, or the hop of fashion*), and in many other take-offs on political events or current dramatic productions as well as in straight plantation scenes. During his long association with the Bryants, his name was constantly before the public and his songs were known not only in New York but circulated widely elsewhere, due to traveling minstrel companies which adopted them freely. In 1861 he was referred to (by the *New York Clipper*) as "one of the pioneers of minstrelsy, and even at this day one of the most useful men in the profession";<sup>14</sup> and in a songster of 1863<sup>15</sup> he is mentioned among the main representatives of his field. With a great deal of work on his hands as a member of the Bryants, he nevertheless found time to publish, in 1862, his *Fife Instructor*,

<sup>10</sup> Notices in the *New York Clipper*, September 14, October 12, and November 2, 1861.

<sup>11</sup> According to Col. T. Allston Brown, "Early History of Negro Minstrelsy," *New York Clipper*, June 29, 1912, Emmett returned to New York in March, 1862, but his name does not appear in the advertisements of the Bryants at that time. George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. VII (New York, 1931), p. 430, finds Emmett's name in advertisements of the Bryants in June.

<sup>12</sup> For example, he often took part in a scene entitled "Fife and Drum Major," and in a burlesque of *Un Ballo in Maschera* as the "orchestra," i.e., playing either the banjo or the fiddle.

<sup>13</sup> "Negro Minstrelsy in New York," newspaper clipping of Chicago, January 24, 1880 in Charles C. Moreau, *Negro Minstrelsy in New York* (New York, 1891), Vol. II (Harvard Theater Collection): "Besides playing in the orchestra and upon the stage, Uncle Dan was employed as a composer of songs, sketches and walk-arounds, for the troupe."

<sup>14</sup> *New York Clipper*, August 10, 1861.

<sup>15</sup> Frank B. Converse, *Charley Fox's Minstrel's Companion*, Philadelphia, 1863. Emmett was referred to as a "Utility Comedian."

a manual and collection of tunes used in the United States Army. The seven years he spent in New York were evidently the busiest and most productive of his career.

Emmett concluded his engagement with the Bryants by going on tour with them in the summer of 1866.<sup>16</sup> Afterwards, from late August on, we find him, along with other members of the troupe, with Budworth's Minstrels at the Fifth Avenue Opera House, where he performed probably for a few weeks.<sup>17</sup> But his contact with the Bryants was not entirely broken, for in 1868, though once more residing in Chicago, he wrote for them a walk-around that was presented at the opening of their new theater at Tammany Hall in May.<sup>18</sup>

Emmett saw most of his successful walk-arounds appear as sheet music. But he also entertained the hope of publishing a comprehensive collection of walk-arounds, for he assembled them, in neat copies, in one book and wrote this introduction for it:<sup>19</sup>

These "Walk 'Rounds" were composed during the period from 1859 [1858]-1868. Most of them were first put upon the stage of the celebrated "Bryant Minstrels" in New York, and for whom, in fact most of them were composed while the author was a member of that organization; and the immense popularity they attained (the W.R.) was in a great measure due to the effective manner in which the "Bryants" produced them.

In the composition of a "Walk 'Round" (by this I mean the style of music and character of the words), I have always strictly confined myself to the habits and crude ideas of the slaves of the South. Their knowledge of the world at large was very limited, often not extending beyond the bounds of the next plantation; they could sing of nothing but everyday life or occurrences, and the scenes by which they were surrounded. This being the undeniable fact, to be true to the negro peculiarities of song, I have written in accordance.

Daniel Decatur Emmett

To the title page he added the following notice, presumably as a protection against plagiarism:<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *New York Clipper*, June 9 and 16, 1866.

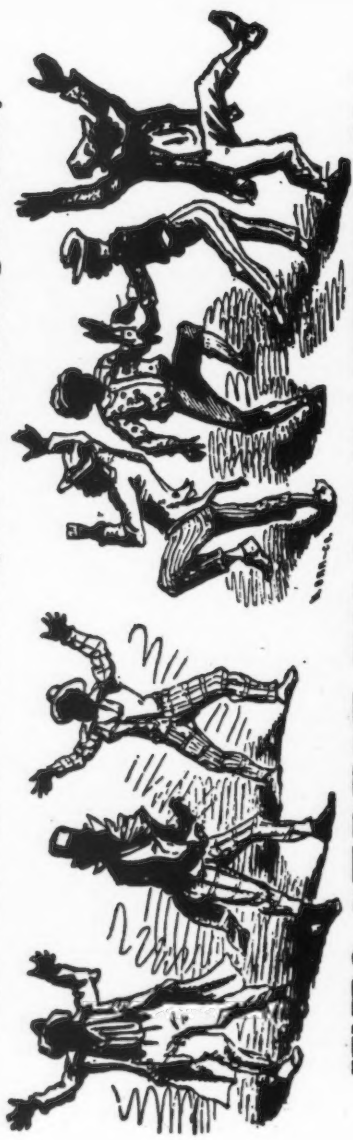
<sup>17</sup> Odell, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII (New York, 1936), p. 218. According to a few playbills of the Budworth's Minstrels of October and November, Emmett was no longer a member of the company at that time.

<sup>18</sup> The title of the walk-around was "The Wigwam" (see the *New York Clipper*, April 25, 1868).

<sup>19</sup> Reprinted in Charles Burleigh Galbreath, *Daniel Decatur Emmett Author of "Dixie"* (Columbus, Ohio, 1904), p. 47. According to the author, this volume of walk-arounds still existed in 1904, but it was broken up in later years and some of its contents disappeared.

<sup>20</sup> The title page reads: "Complete sett [sic] of Walk 'Rounds. Composed by Daniel D. Emmett." In the possession of Ogden Wintermute, Mount Vernon, Ohio.

**PART THIRD—COMICALITIES.**  
**THE SURPRISE PARTY** ..... Carrol, Jerry and Dan Bryant  
 Plantation Jig ..... W. Werten  
 The performance to conclude with Emmett's original Plantation Song and Dance,



# WHO STRUCK BILLY PATTERSON?

INTRODUCING THE WHOLE TROUPE IN THEIR FESTIVAL DANCE.

Doors open at half-past 6. To commence at half-past 7 o'clock.

**ADMISSION - - - - TWENTY-FIVE CENTS**

HERALD PRINT.

Figure 1. Playbill of the Bryant's Minstrels, New York, on December 19, 1859. Group at left depicts singing soloists in first part of walk-around; group at right shows ludicrous dancing of finale.



In parting with the "Walk 'Rounds" contained in this book, I reserve to myself the right of publication; as they are to be used only in a professional way: (in other words: for stage purposes;) and nothing shall be so construed, as to imply a contrary meaning.

Daniel D. Emmett—author  
purchaser  
witness

Since these walk-arounds were originally incidental music (though they have value in their own right), it is useful to mention their manner of presentation. Names like "Plantation Song and Dance" (as subtitles for the music) and "Plantation Festival" (applied to the entire scene) clearly suggest the type of stage décor. The "whole minstrel company, attired in varied costumes, such as one might have seen on a southern levee, assembled on the stage . . . in a semi-circle."<sup>21</sup> Near the footlights there were a few comedians who became active during the first part of the walk-around. They alternately stepped forth and sang a stanza, several times interrupted by their partners. Then everybody on the stage joined in the final chorus, which followed immediately, and, to the concluding instrumental music, the solo performers began to dance in a circle with boisterous and grotesque steps and rowdy gestures (Figure 1). Meanwhile, the rest of the company, in the background, furnished the percussive accompaniment by clapping their hands (sometimes over their heads or striking "an elbow . . . as a diversity") and stamping the floor.<sup>22</sup> In addition to this manner of performance (in which, for example, "Dixie" was presented), the Bryants no doubt knew a slightly different one, which also became customary with later troupes. Instead of a fixed group in the foreground, each member of the company took part in turn as a soloist, who sang, occasionally walked "around the inside of the gathering three or four times," and, "stopping in the center," began to dance.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the final dance itself often included a considerable number of comedians so that a variety of comical characters were seen cavorting on the stage: "the lean, the fat, the tall, the short, the hunchbacked and the wooden legged, all mixed in and hard at it,"<sup>24</sup> some with clogs on, also dwarfs and even children as well as "wench dancers" [impersonated by men] who indulged in "saltatory exercises . . . with

<sup>21</sup> W. J. Henderson, *Negro Minstrel Melodies* (New York, 1910).

<sup>22</sup> Olive Logan, *op. cit.* Our description has also been gained from the markings and the structure of Emmett's music, choreographically confirmed by illustrations and the occasional reference in announcements of the Bryants to the appearance of both the entire troupe and solo performers in walk-arounds.

<sup>23</sup> Henderson, *op. cit.* See also Logan, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> "Negro Minstrels and their Dances," newspaper clipping of August 11, 1895, in the Theater Collections of the New York Public Library and Harvard College Library.

various hi's! hey's! and Oh Law's! . . ."<sup>25</sup> Performances like this closely approximated Southern scenes, not only in detail but in the entire organization of the dance.<sup>26</sup> For example, the Negro "shout," a religious ceremony, involved men and women who moved around in a circle; sometimes they sang themselves or they were accompanied by a group of onlookers chanting the spiritual and clapping "their hands together or on the knees."<sup>27</sup> And even on secular occasions a ring was formed by some "younger men" and its center taken by a dancer (to the accompaniment of music), while the crowd provided the usual percussive background.<sup>28</sup>

The early walk-around was a dance. When it appeared on the minstrel stage in the late forties, it was executed by a soloist.<sup>29</sup> A few years later, in the early fifties, it had grown into an ensemble act in which either a small number of dancers or the entire company participated.<sup>30</sup> Only from 1858 on (or slightly earlier) was it both danced and sung, and in this form it was established by the Bryants as a regular feature in minstrel shows.<sup>31</sup>

No walk-arounds were published before that date, though a few appeared then (three to be exact) that probably date back to an earlier time.<sup>32</sup> These are purely instrumental tunes, and two of them differ slightly

<sup>25</sup> Logan, *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> This was soon recognized. See "Negro Minstrels and their Dances," cited above, which speaks of the "true darky style;" and Henderson, *op. cit.*: "The walk-around . . . was a genuine form of slave song." Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folk-Songs* (New York, 1914), p. 33, calls the walk-around a "secular parody" of the Negro "shout."

<sup>27</sup> William F. Allen, *et al.*, *Slave Songs of the United States* (New York, 1867; reprinted in 1929 and 1951), Preface, pp. 14-15.

<sup>28</sup> Charles L. Edwards, *Bahama Songs and Stories* (Boston and New York, 1895), p. 17. See also Thomas W. Talley, *Negro Folk Rhymes* (New York, 1922), p. 232.

<sup>29</sup> Playbill of the Dumbolton's Ethiopian Serenaders of 1849 (reprinted in the *New York Clipper*, March 24, 1877). In the *Clipper* of July 14, 1877, Fred Wilson reports that he danced walk-arounds as early as 1849. The minstrel play *Going for the Cup; Or Old Mrs. William's Dance*, by Charles White, New York, 1874 (first performance 1847) includes solo walk-arounds.

<sup>30</sup> Playbill of *Well's Late the original Fellow's Minstrels*, Providence, R.I., August 30, 1852 lists "The Alabama Festival Dance, introducing the Trial Walk Around." "Arkansas Walk-Around" with three performers (playbill of the Wood's Minstrels of 1853, reprinted in the *New York Clipper*, March 25, 1876). A "Walk-around Dance" presented by the entire company on a playbill of Yankee Hill's Ethiopian Opera Troupe, December 25, 1854 (reprinted in the *New York Clipper*, January 3, 1874).

<sup>31</sup> In 1857 the Bryants concluded their shows with the "Plantation Song and Dance, or Southern Life, *Down in Alabama*" (See, for example, the playbill of May 27, 1857). The *New York Clipper* (April 25, 1857) commented on its "musical and . . . saltatory" aspects as if they were something new. If the subtitle "an original Ethiopian Walk Around" of Emmett's play *Hard Times* referred mainly to the concluding scene, the walk-around combined vocal and choreographic elements as early as 1855.

<sup>32</sup> In *Phil. Rice's Correct Method for the Banjo*, Boston, 1858. The collection includes a great deal of early material.

from the ordinary banjo jig in having a less ornate melodic style and a greater degree of metrical stability appropriate to the strutting character of the dance.

Emmett's walk-around is not the traditional one. Though including instrumental music, it is (aside from its theatrical function) essentially a vocal composition. In formal layout it owes to earlier minstrel songs only the final chorus; the division of its first part into alternating snatches for solo and ensemble was practically a novelty on the stage,<sup>33</sup> and definitely so in its consistent application of these features.

The details of Emmett's walk-arounds were familiar, but they were welded together into an idiom that had a flavor all its own. One detects it in the heartiness and vigor of the final choruses, and in the compactness and conciseness of the phrases (in the ensemble sections often paralleling the slangy character of the words) that animate the first part and, despite their brevity, lend it coherence. The style was limited, but Emmett knew how to handle it with considerable variety. After several years, however, it turned into a formula and he finally abandoned it. Other minstrel composers continued to find it attractive, and thus it survived until the early eighties.<sup>34</sup>

Emmett maintained that he had composed his walk-arounds, as he put it, "true to the negro peculiarities of song." As far as the music was concerned, he was only partially right, for he utilized the most diverse elements, and not all of them were by any means the property of the black man. The most tangible Negro element in his walk-arounds is the solo-ensemble alternation in their first part and the repetitiveness of its melodic and textual phrases. Another one is the interval of the minor third (upwards and downwards) which, as in Negro spirituals, often appears in a pentatonic formula (i.e., with a preceding major second), while its larger context is regulated by a major or minor tonality. A few more specific relations exist, but they are both few in number and rather tenuous. A contemporary newspaper report on a Negro prayer meeting in New York mentioned a resemblance between a Negro hymn and Emmett's *Old K.Y. Ky.*<sup>35</sup> Moreover, "The Black Brigade" is similar to "I'm Gwine Home To Alabamy," sung by colored deckhands "upon the Western steamboats"<sup>36</sup> (Figure 2, page 222). While in neither of the two instances do we know

<sup>33</sup> This alternation had appeared in only one song: *Old Bob Ridley*, Baltimore, 1853 ("Written and Composed" by W. L. Hargrave).

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, "Good Bye, Liza Jane," 1871 (reprinted in *Minstrel Songs Old and New*, Oliver Ditson, Boston, 1882); "Hannah Boil Dat Cabbage Down," by Sam Lucas (Boston and Chicago, 1878); "Old Times Roxy," by Ned Straight (New York, 1880).

<sup>35</sup> *New York Clipper*, October 12, 1861.

<sup>36</sup> "I'm Gwine To Alabamy" in Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 89; see also footnote.

Song [Solo]      From: The Black Brigade      Chorus      Song

Dar's some-ting rong a brew-in; Gwine to jine de Un-ion. Dar's  
some-ting rong a brew-in; etc.

I'm Gwine To Alabamy

I'm gwine to A-la-ba-my, Oh  
For to see my mam-my, Ah

Figure 2. Emmett's "Black Brigade" shows many similarities to a song of the western steamboats.

Song [Solo]      From: What O' Dat

Old Pom-pek cotch a crow, An den he let 'im go, He  
pick him clean, As a cas-tor bean, What o' dat?      CHORUS      What, whar's old Pom-pek gone?  
etc.

(transposed)      From: Lay This Body Down (White Spiritual)

I'm trav-ling to my grave, I'm trav-ling to my grave, I'm trav-ling to my  
grave, To lay this bo-dy down. My fa-thers died a-shouting, Re-joic-ing in the Lord;  
etc.

Figure 3. Some of Emmett's music is indebted to white spirituals.

which of the tunes exerted the influence and which received it, it can be shown that passages in "What O' Dat" and "Sandy Gibson's" are indebted to white spirituals rather than to black ones<sup>37</sup> (Figure 3, page 222).

In keeping with the traditional style of performance of the Bryants, Emmett borrowed various melodic turns and rhythmic patterns from the minstrel songs of the forties, quite openly in "Turkey In De Straw" (where he used "Zip Coon"), but also in "Jonny Roach," "Sandy Gibson's," "What O' Dat," and other walk-arounds. From the same source he derived his pungent, ejaculatory phrases (such as "Don't y'e tell me" in "Billy Patterson") as well as the instrumental interludes in "Jonny Roach." On a few occasions he also resorted to banjo tunes.<sup>38</sup>

A prominent element of Emmett's music came from British folk music; it shows in the concluding reels and in Scottish patterns that he employed in several walk-arounds.<sup>39</sup> Even a slight influence of white sentimental ballads and marches is noticeable.<sup>40</sup>

Emmett's texts deal with typical Negro scenes, in both the South and North, not merely with plantation life, as their author claimed. And all of them, combining the Negro's statements with commentaries about him, have topical allusions. In "Dixie" and "I'm Going Home To Dixie" the colored man is a political artifact rather than a copy from life.<sup>41</sup> "The Black Brigade" and "Road To Richmond" are satires of the black regiments of the Union Army during the Civil War. "Sandy Gibson's" (beginning: "In eighteen hundred and forty-four, / [Chorus] Oh, hurry up, / We used to swim in close to shore," etc.) contains an episode that any New Yorker could have experienced, and "Billy Patterson" is the Negro version of an Irish-American story.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> "Lay This Body Down," in George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals* (New York, 1943), p. 170, Hymn No. 34. The opening of the tune is very similar to that of "Poor Old Horse" in Cecil J. Sharp, *One Hundred English Folksongs* (Boston, 1916). "Sandy Gibson's" is related to "Old Ship Of Zion" in Jackson, p. 148, Hymn No. 6.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, "What O' Dat" ("ah ah").

<sup>39</sup> Hans Nathan, "Dixie," *The Musical Quarterly* XXXV (Jan. 1949), p. 68.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, the end of "High Daddy." Emmett's *Fife Instructor*, p. 72, No. 12, m. 27 is related to passages in "Road to Richmond," and p. 92, m. 9 to the opening of "Loozianna Low Grounds."

<sup>41</sup> Nathan, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>42</sup> The *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* of March 25, 1840 (quoting from the *Bunker Hill Aurora*) gives a racy report on "Billy Patterson: A Story Of The Broad Street Riot." It tells of Patrick Mahonie, an Irishman, who "talked loud and large" but whose "courage . . . was chiefly at his tongue's end." Convinced of his strength and importance, he considered himself responsible for the welfare of his friend, Billy Patterson. When Billy one day "fell into the hands of a tall fireman" and was badly roughed up, his protector sallied forth in search of the offender (shouting "Och, by my eyes, who struck Billy Patterson!") but when he finally found him, he was wise enough to offer him his compliments.

Though the versification reveals Emmett's hand, there are nevertheless numerous lines and images that were lifted, according to professional custom, from earlier minstrel songs. Several expressions (such as "going home," "traveling a rocky road," "joining the union"), stripped of their religious meaning, were from Negro spirituals; and even white urban colloquialisms like "O.K." made their appearance.<sup>43</sup> Nor did Emmett, bent on using anything he could remember, neglect suggestions of English folk-song texts.<sup>44</sup>

It is unlikely that Emmett, folk artist that he essentially was, ever gave a thought to what we call originality. But he had the advantage of being firmly rooted in a living tradition and in the local scene, and it is this that made him more genuine and more genuinely American than the professional composer of his time and his country. There was a naïve, sinewy quality in what he did, and he preserved it as long as popular demand encouraged him.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> In "High Daddy." See *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, October 1, November 11 and 28, 1840.

<sup>44</sup> "They say, old man, your horse will die!" in W. B. Whall, *Sea Songs and Shanties* (Glasgow, 1927), p. 135 (see "Billy Patterson") and "When I was young and in my prime" in "Poor Old Horse" in Sharp, *op. cit.*, (see *Road To Richmond*).

<sup>45</sup> All playbills referred to are from the Harvard Theater Collection. The dates of Emmett's walk-arounds mentioned in this article are as follows: "Jonny Roach," "I Wish I Was In Dixie's Land," "Sandy Gibson's," "Billy Patterson," "Loozianna Low Grounds," and "What O' Dat" (all written in 1859); "Turkey In De Straw" (written in 1859, published in 1861 under the name of Dan Bryant); "Old K.Y. Ky." (written in 1860); "I'm Going Home to Dixie" (tune written in 1858; the entire song published in 1861); "The Black Brigade" (written in 1862); "High Daddy" (written in 1863); "Road To Richmond" (tune written in 1859; the entire song published in 1864); "The Wigwam" (written in 1868; neither tune nor text is extant).



Mr. McCorkle is recognized as the principal authority on the music of the American Moravians. His articles on this and related topics have appeared in such journals as the "North Carolina Historical Review," "Musical Quarterly," and the "Journal of the American Musicological Society." A musicologist, performer, editor, teacher, and critic, he is currently active as executive director of the Moravian Music Foundation and visiting assistant professor of musicology at Salem College, Winston-Salem.

## Regiment Band of the Twenty-Sixth North Carolina

JULIUS LEINBACH

*Edited by* Donald M. McCorkle

*The military band has held a position of great importance in wartime since the very beginning of organized warfare itself. Whether in ancient or in modern times, the bandsman has consistently been utilized as a morale builder of the first order. And, just as consistently, he has been an unsung hero; his rank seldom being very high, his duties have run the gamut from butcher to baker to candlestick maker and the inevitable "medic." Yet through all he has carved for himself a unique niche in the eternal scroll of honor. His music has bolstered the attack and the retreat, the offense and the defense, and above all has rejuvenated the emotions of patriotism.*

*And so it was too in the American Civil War. Probably no one would know how many bands were engaged in this conflict, nor indeed, probably, would many be interested. But to the student of cultural history the question would have some merit, for he is concerned with the mind of the soldier. His questions might be these: "Did the men have interest in music while in the heat of battle?" "What tunes did they sing?" "What effect, if any, did the battle situation have upon the musician's interest in good performance?"*

*Some of these questions are answered in this colorful and dramatic account of what occurred behind the scenes during the battle of Gettysburg. Julius Augustus Leinbach (Lineback) (1834-1930) was at Gettysburg with the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment Band, in ante- and post-bellum*

days the Salem Brass Band from the Moravian Church community of Salem, North Carolina. Leinbach and his fellow band members saw at close range the four-day massacre of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, the massacre that cost it nearly ninety per cent of its personnel and won for it the fitting title, "The Bloody Twenty-sixth." Leinbach's account, here slightly abridged and edited, was first given early in the century as a speech before the Wachovia Historical Society in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It was subsequently published, unedited, as an appendix for Bernard J. Pfohl's book, *The Salem Band* (Winston-Salem: Privately Printed, 1953).

The titles listed in the supplement (page 234 ff.) are those that comprised the repertory of the Twenty-sixth Regiment Band. It is a representative sampling of the tunes and songs which made up the musical fare of the Confederate soldier in his triumph and his defeat. Few of the pieces will ever be heard again, and that is probably well. For no music is quite as evanescent as the music for war; it is so thoroughly a creature of circumstance that, once its value has been utilized, it can only remain thereafter unsung, as are the heroes of the military bands who exploited it for war.

I HAVE BEEN ASKED to give an account of some of the experiences of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band during the Civil War, and the battle of Gettysburg was suggested as being the most notable. . . . General Lee's original objective had been Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, but from information received he changed his course, and directed his corps commanders to congregate in the neighborhood of Gettysburg.

Heth's division of A. P. Hill's corps had arrived at Cash Town, some eight miles from Gettysburg, on the evening of June 29, 1863. The next morning [Major] General Heth ordered [Brigadier] General Pettigrew to take the three regiments he had with him, three pieces of artillery and some wagons, go to Gettysburg and procure some supplies. It was expected that he would find a body of Home Guards there, which would no doubt retire on the approach of a larger force. He had orders not to engage any considerable body of the enemy should there be any such in the town and under no conditions to do anything that would precipitate a fight. General Lee did not have all his troops in hand and was not ready for battle. On the way to Gettysburg, General Pettigrew was met by General Longstreet's spy, who told him that Buford's Division of cavalry, some 3,000 strong, was holding the town. This report was confirmed by a "Knight of the Golden Circle" who came out to give our officers warning. Under these conditions, Pettigrew withdrew. Unfortunately, neither General Hill nor General Heth placed any confidence in the reported presence of any considerable body of the enemy, and on the next day, July 1st, General

Heth moved his division forward to reconnoitre and make the levy that had been the object the previous day. Archer's [Tennessee] and Davis' [Mississippi] brigades were in the lead.

Unexpectedly they ran into the enemy and were repulsed with the loss of 400 prisoners, besides a number of killed and wounded. Blood had now been drawn and there seemed to be no calling off of the battle, thus unintentionally stumbled into. Disposition was at once made for a change. The enemy had been reinforced, while others of our troops were hurried forward.

It so happened that immediately in front of Pettigrew's Brigade was the famous Iron Brigade, the finest in the Northern Army, that bore the proud boast of never having been defeated in any battle. In front of our troops lay a quarter-mile of nearly ripe wheat, then a branch, its banks thick with underbrush and briars, and beyond again an open field to a wooded hill, occupied by the Iron Brigade, and considered the key to the situation. Our men were resting, well knowing that a terrible struggle was before them.

Attention! Every man was up and ready and every officer at his post—Colonel Burgwyn in the center, Lieutenant-Colonel Lane on the right, Major Jones on the left, the color bearer six paces in advance of the line, proud of his position.

Forward!! All to a man, stepped off in perfect line, apparently as willingly and proudly as if on review.

The enemy opened fire at once, but this portion of the ground being descending, they mostly overshot our men. On across the wheat field moved the line of grey, until they came to the run, where there was some confusion in getting through the briars and underbrush. By this time Biddle's Brigade and Coper's Battery, on the right of front, poured in a heavy enfilading fire that tore the Confederate line almost into fragments.

Our loss was frightful, but quickly reforming, the brave men surged up the hill, firing as they went. The engagement was becoming desperate. Lieutenant Colonel Lane, on the right, hurried to the center, anxious to know how things were going there. "It is all right in the center and on the left," Colonel Burgwyn informed him, "we have broken the first line of the enemy. We are all in line on the right, Colonel." By this time the colors had been cut down ten times. The second line of the enemy was encountered, when the fighting was the fiercest, and the killing the deadliest. Suddenly Captain McCreery, assistant-general of the brigade, rushed forward with a message from General Pettigrew to Colonel Burgwyn. "Tell him his regiment has covered itself with glory today." Then seizing the flag, he waved it aloft and advancing to the front was shot through the heart.

Lieutenant Wilcox rushed forward, dragged the flag from under the fallen McCreery and advancing a few steps, also fell with two wounds in his body. This seemed to be a crisis—the line hesitated, the colors must advance. Telling Lieutenant Colonel Lane of the words of praise from their brigade commander, with order to impart it to the men for their encouragement, Colonel Burgwyn seized the flag and advanced, giving the order, "Dress on the colors." Private Henry Honeycutt rushed forward from the ranks and asked the honor to advance the flag. Turning to hand the colors to the brave young soldier, Colonel Burgwyn was struck by a ball in the left side which passed through both lungs. The impact of the ball turned him around, and he fell with flag wrapped about him. The daring Honeycutt survived his colonel but a moment, for taking the ill-fated flag, he too fell, shot through the head. For the thirteenth time the regimental colors were in the dust.

Kneeling by his side, Lieutenant Colonel Lane stopped for a moment to ask Colonel Burgwyn if he were hurt. A bowed head, a motion to his left side, and a pressure of the hand were the only response.

Reluctantly leaving his dying commander, Colonel Lane . . . gave orders to close ranks . . . and hurried back to the center to see the colors still down. As he raised them, Lieutenant Blair rushed out, saying, "No man can take these colors and live."

"It is my time to take them now," Lane replied, and advancing, shouted at the top of his voice, "Twenty-sixth, follow me!"

The men answered with a yell and sprang forward. The last line of the enemy sullenly gave way, and retired toward Gettysburg.

Just as the last shots were firing, a sergeant in the Twenty-fourth Michigan Regiment noticed the commanding figure of Colonel Lane carrying the colors and fired, just as Lane turned to see if his men were following him. The ball struck in the back of the neck, just below the brain, crashed through jaw and mouth, and for the fourteenth and the last time, the colors were down.

*And where was the band all this time?*

When the brigade had left the camp in the morning, after we had been on picket duty during the night, Colonel Burgwyn had told us we might stay with the wagons if we wanted to. . . . When we heard the noise of battle, we went to an adjoining hill, from which we could see the smoke of the infantry firing, while the roar of the cannon was almost continuous. After a couple of hours, the firing ceased, and soon prisoners and our own wounded men began to come in, bringing sorrowful news from the fight and our hearts sickened from the harrowing details.

Our dear old Colonel Burgwyn was killed. Lieutenant Colonel Lane was seriously, if not mortally wounded; Major Jones hurt, we knew not how badly, as was Adjutant Jordan and nearly every captain in the regiment.

Nearly or quite three-fourths [588] of the men were either killed or wounded, but none taken prisoners.

It was with heavy hearts that we went about caring for the wounded. We worked until 11 o'clock that night, when I was so thoroughly worn out that I could do no more and lay down for some rest. At 3 o'clock I was up again and at work. The second day our regiment was not engaged, but we were busily occupied all day in our sad tasks. While thus engaged, in the afternoon, we were sent . . . to play for the men, and thus, perhaps, cheer them somewhat. Dr. Warren sent Sam [Mickey] with a note to the commanding officer of the brigade, that we could not be spared from attending to the wounded men. Some time later another order came for us, and this was peremptory. We accordingly went to the regiment and found the men much more cheerful than we were ourselves. We played for some time, the Eleventh North Carolina Band playing with us, and the men cheered us lustily.<sup>1</sup> Heavy cannonading was going on at the time, though not in our immediate front. We learned afterwards, from Northern papers, that our playing had been heard across the lines and caused wonder that we should play while fighting was going on around us. Some little while after we left, a bomb struck and exploded very close to the place where we had been standing, no doubt having been intended for us.

We got back to camp after dark and found many men in need of our attention. Some of those whom we had tried to care for during the day had died during our absence.

We had brought all the cooked food we could get from the wagons and from a spring close by we got plenty of cool water, which the poor wounded men wanted constantly. We continued our administrations until late at night and early next morning.

About 1 o'clock on July 3, Dan [Crouse] and I went for more rations to the commissary wagons, which were parked a couple of miles nearer the field of battle than the hospital. While on the way, cannonading, which had died down during the morning, was renewed, and soon became fearfully furious. The concussion of the air was considerable and even the ground under our feet seemed to quiver from the continuous explosions. This was that famous charge, usually called Pickett's but which could just as fairly be called Pettigrew's. It has been estimated that for about half an hour 100 guns were being discharged per minute. Add to that the bursting of bombs, and imagination fails to grasp the awful thundering of those death-dealing implements of war. The slaughter of human beings was terrible beyond description.

<sup>1</sup> This is the first time that Leinbach has mentioned any musical activities of the band; we are probably safe in assuming that the intensity of the battle had kept their minds on more critical matters until this moment.

In these battles every field officer in our brigade was killed or wounded; every captain in our regiment but one, and every lieutenant but three. Out of 800 men of the Twenty-sixth Regiment who went into battle on July 1 but 83 were left to answer roll call on the morning of July 4th.

Surely this regiment had done its full duty—was baptized in blood, and well deserved the name "The Bloody Twenty-sixth."

Toward evening the surgeons were ordered forward two miles to where the wounded of the third day were being brought. Several of us went with them. We found the yard, road, and adjoining field full of men, some of whom had been wounded the first day, and had received no attention. Quite a number had died here, and were still unburied. We worked hard to give as much relief as possible to the poor fellows, until 1 o'clock, when we were again completely tired out and lay down.

A shower of rain woke us up early next morning, and we resumed the labors of the past days. Dr. Warren directed us to make a list of the wounded, and put as many as possible into wagons captured by General [J. E. B.] Stuart in a raid.

They were to be sent to Winchester [Virginia], and he advised us to accompany them. So many were too seriously wounded to be moved such a distance that he felt it his duty to remain with them, although he knew full well that they—and he—would fall into the hands of the enemy. I well recall one poor fellow, who was shot through the head just below the temple, the ball coming out nearly exactly opposite. His head and face were fearfully swollen and we were sure he would die—but he recovered entirely, served later with his regiment, and was still alive a few years ago.

Although the doctor had told us to go to the rear, we were not quite sure that it would be safe to do so without some written authority from our officers, so I went forward to procure an order from Major Jones or Dr. Warren, but did not succeed and went back to the hospital in a heavy rain. During a lull, E. Brietz, who had left the band and been elected lieutenant in a company, went again to Dr. Warren and was told that we should push on as fast as we could, I do not remember now where. We accordingly left as soon as we could get away, and when we got back everything was gone. The retreat had begun!

We went on in a pouring rain, a motley procession of wagons, ambulances, wounded men on foot, straggling soldiers, and band boys, splashing along in the mud, weary, sad, and discouraged. Abe [Gibson] and I, with a couple of our men, were together, but separated from the rest of our crowd. We struggled on until 9 o'clock, when we lay down under a tree, too tired to care whether the Yankees picked us up or not. Poor Abe had no shoes, and his feet were very tender. Heavy rains came during the night and we sat up, with our blankets over our heads, meditating over our forlorn condition until daylight.



Going half a mile further, we came upon the Eleventh Band, and the rest of our boys, except W. H. Hall, who was thought to be far ahead. We ate a little of our scant store of provisions, and made another start. Joe Hall was in his stocking feet, for someone had stolen his shoes. Dan Crouse soon threw away his worn-out shoes, as worse than none, while mine were badly worn and had rubbed my feet sore.

It was a very fatiguing march, but we kept on all day, with frequent short stops. The roads were deep with a gritty mud that wore the feet of our barefooted boys badly and, almost as bad, had sifted into the shoes of those who had them.

Amongst us we had a little silver money and with it tried to buy something to eat along the road but could get very little. One woman gave me a couple slices of bread for money—not nearly its value, so when one of our boys found a door behind the house, opening into the cellar, we felt no compunctions of conscience in helping ourselves to what eatables we found there. Milk was speedily transferred to our stomachs and canteens, plates of cold meats, etc., emptied into the various haversacks, while Dan came out with a ham bone which he and I divided behind the barn.

We had intended stopping at night, but learning that the enemy's cavalry was hovering on our flanks and had made a dash or two on our wagons, we thought best to "push along, keep moving." In one of these raids our comrade Bill Hall had been captured, but we did not know what had become of him until months later.

After dark I again became separated from the others and trudged my own lonesome, weary way, reaching Williamsport about 2 o'clock; I crossed the river with the wagons, and on the hill beyond stopped to rest. It was raining, but by the dim light I found some fence rails and laying one end on a stump with the other on the ground, I had an inclined bed, which to my tired limbs was as restful as the softest spring mattress. Stretching myself out on this and covering head and all with my oilcloth, I slept the sleep of the weary.

After daylight I went back to the river, washed my feet, shoes, and pants, all of which were equally muddy, and then recrossed to the Maryland side. Securing some rations from our commissary wagon, which I found after a long hunt, I eventually came upon the rest of the boys, expecting the two Halls and Abe Gibson—Joe and Abe being in the rear, as we knew—Bill, we knew not where.

Here on the banks of the Potomac we lay for days, waiting for the rains to cease and the swollen river to fall sufficiently to be forded.

By the middle of July we had somewhat settled down in the neighborhood of Martinsburg, Virginia. Major Jones, of our regiment, was in command of the brigade, every superior officer having been killed or wounded. Our hearts were very heavy, for nearly all our good friends in the regiment



had been taken from us, and our future position seemed to be very precarious.

On the 15th, General Lee sent for us to come to his quarters. What did this summons mean? We had never before been called in this manner, and in our gloomy state of feeling we had visions of being placed in the ranks, with muskets in our hands, to increase somewhat the pitifully small roll call of the regiment. We went much in the same state of mind, I imagine, as a prisoner awaits the verdict of a jury. Stopping at General Heth's quarters, by request of Major Jones, we played a few pieces for him, in recognition of which he sent out some brandy. Our spirits somewhat revived by this counter application, we reached General Lee's quarters, and reported. He received us very kindly, said that he considered ours as one of the best bands in the army, and hoped that we would play a great deal for the men, to cheer them up. Didn't that make us feel good, though! We gave him some of our best, and returned to our camp greatly relieved.

After a good deal of marching, back and forth, our division found itself near Orange Court House early in December. We were expecting Mr. Traugott Chitty, with "boxes" from home. December 10th was a special fast day—we had had a good deal of experience of "fast" days—whether it was considered in the sense of abstaining from food (because we had nothing to eat) or of fast marching, either before or behind the enemy—and had not perceived that either kind conduced very much to spirituality. We paid no attention to this one, therefore, but went to town hoping to meet Mr. Chitty with a supply of good things from home. Being disappointed in that, we bought some oysters, at \$5.00 per quart, and had a feast.

Our boxes came at last on the 13th, and among the varied contents we were glad to find a piece of music, composed expressly for us by our good friend Miss A. A. Van Vleck.<sup>2</sup>

Transou, Dan, Henry, and I had agreed to build a cabin for ourselves, and began work on it the next day. By December 18th we had finished it, and in the evening, while enjoying its coziness, the other boys gave us a serenade. On the 22nd, at 7:00 a.m. we were informed that we would leave at 8:00 o'clock. Oh my! must we so soon leave the nice, comfortable house that had cost us so much hard work? There was no help for it; however, we were told we would only move a short distance, so we packed up our belongings, obeyed the call of Sergeant Lloyd Jones to "bring up your cooking tools," and were ready before the order "fall in" was given.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Amelia A. Van Vleck (1835-1929), of Salem, N.C., was one of those irrepressible individuals whose every move gives rise to a legend. She had inherited a great deal of musical talent from her father and grandfather; with this talent and her subsequent training "Miss Amy" became an institution in Salem for nearly fifty years. Her contributions to the Twenty-sixth Regiment Band were the "Salem Band Waltz," "Serenade Waltz," and "Carolina March." Her pieces were arranged for band by a brother of the author of this article and a distinguished composer in his own right, Edward W. Lineback (1823-1901).

I may mention here that this thing of moving on short notice must have made a deep impression on my mind, for every dream about army life I have had ever since has been about trouble over finding some of my belongings on an order to move.

We passed through Orange, and out four miles to our new camp ground. Joe and Charley had remained at the old camp to take care of such of our "furniture" as could not be taken at once until the wagons could come back for it.

During the winter we were all messing together, various duties being allotted to each. We, the before-mentioned four, were the bakers, and so we went right to work to build another cabin for ourselves. We cut, split, and carried logs, and put up nearly all the body of the house the first day. This was December 24th, Christmas Eve. We wanted something more than even what our boxes contained for our Christmas lovefeast, so we sent to town for more oysters—\$20.00 per gallon, and \$12.00 more for other extras.<sup>3</sup> We had a jolly good time, sitting up until 1 o'clock. On Christmas morning some of the boys went to town to celebrate, but found all stores closed by order of General Lee. We four smart boys worked on our house all day. The next night we went serenading for Major Jones, and flattered ourselves that we would get some good Christmas leavings, but came out missing.

On December 30th General Heth honored us by stepping inside of our "mansion" to see how comfortably we had fixed ourselves. On New Year's night we intended, by permission of our officers, to carry out our good Moravian custom of ushering the New Year by playing tune 146<sup>4</sup>—so we sat up by our fires, and talked until the midnight hour when we astonished the men.

For some days we had such extremely cold weather that the usual dress parades were omitted. January 13th we serenaded General A. P. Hill and his lady. Mrs. Hill was sister to General Morgan. From General Hill's we went with Major Collins to serenade his wife.

January 18th I wrote out furloughs for all the boys, and for days we anxiously awaited their return, endorsed "Approved" by each succeeding commander, but they did not arrive. On the 28th we again went to Major Collins' quarters after supper to play for his wife. After several pieces, Mrs. Collins came forward, thanked us for our music, and handed us our furloughs, all O.K., and wished us a very pleasant visit to our homes. The next day was spent in cooking and packing up, preparatory for an early start the following morning. We left camp before daylight, and at Orange found the Twenty-seventh Band also going home, to Greensboro [North Caro-

<sup>3</sup> The Moravian Church lovefeast observed on Christmas Eve is a deeply inspiring service of fellowship. The warmth of the occasion is the central force of the service in which the worshipers share a simple feast of cake and coffee while singing hymns commemorative of the birth of the Lord.

<sup>4</sup> Johann Crüger's *Nun danket alle Gott* ("Now Thank We All Our God").

lina]. At Richmond and Petersburg we were detained, so that we did not get to Raleigh until 5 p.m., February 1. While we were changing cars there some one said to Governor Vance, who was in the crowd, "There is the band of the Twenty-sixth." "Where? Where?" he exclaimed, and rushed off. "I thought he would run over the whole crowd," said our informants. He intended going to Wilkesboro [North Carolina] in a few days to speak, and wanted us to meet him there. Of course we were glad to promise to do so.

When we arrived at High Point, we found several of our home folks awaiting us, with conveyances to take us to Salem.<sup>5</sup> (We had advised them by wire of our coming.) At Teaguetown two other dear ones had hot coffee and lunch ready for us after disposing of which we formed a happy procession moving on to dear old Salem, taking all but a few of our friends by surprise, as we drove up the street, playing our very best. . . .

#### REPERTORY OF THE 26TH REGIMENT BAND

*This supplement was compiled by the editor from five of the six sets of manuscript partbooks preserved in the library of the Salem Band. Non-distinctive titles have been omitted.*

##### Book 1

Old North State [State Anthem of North Carolina]	"Lulu is Gone!" [by Stephen C. Foster]
Old Hundred	Dead March—by Edward W. Lineback (March 2, 1862) [Salem Moravian]
Mere	Louisa Polka
Luto Quickstep	Clarendon
"Home Again"	"Juanita" [by Hon. Mrs. Norton]
"Cheer, Boys, Cheer"	"Be Kind to the Loved Ones"
21st Regiment Quickstep	"The Cottage by the Sea" [by J. R. Thomas]
"Kathleen Mavourneen" [by F. W. N. Crouch]	"Last Rose of Summer"
From "Bohemian Girl" [by M. W. Balfe]	"Katy Darling"
Col. Kirkland's March	"Ever of Thee" [by Foley Hall] arr. W. H. Neaves
"Listen to the Mocking Bird" [by Septimus Winner]	Grand March in "Norma" [by Bellini]
Col. Vance's March	"Carry Me Back"
Dead March	"The Silver Moon" Quickstep
Dedley: "[Maryland!] My Maryland!" and "[Old] North State"	Easter Galop—by Edward W. Lineback [Salem Moravian]
"Come Dearest, the Daylight is Gone" [by Brinley Richards]	"Irish Emigrant's Lament" Quickstep
"Dixie" and "The Bonnie Blue Flag" [by Harry Macarthy]	"The Rock Beside the Sea" [by C. C. Converse]
26th Regiment Quickstep	Col. Hoke's March—Edward W. Lineback [Salem Moravian]
Tramp	Slumber Polka
	Hail to the Chief

<sup>5</sup> A distance of twenty miles.

## Regiment Band

235

### "The Girl I Left Behind"

Sicilian Hymn

Boylston [hymn tune]

Atlantic Cable March

Moravian Chorale Tunes Nos. 106, 132,  
151, 161, 185, 230

### Book 2

"Woodman Spare that Tree" [by Henry  
Russell]

Sultans Polka

"On Yonder Rock Reclining"

"Departed Days"

Kleber's March

Confederate March

[excerpt from] "Lucia di Lammermoor"  
[Donizetti]

"Sleep Gentle Mother"

"The Flag of the South" [by Dr. O.  
Becker]

"Gentle Annie"

"My Country's Call"

Chorus from "The Child of the Regiment"  
[by Donizetti]

*Ihre Augen sind zwei Sternen* (Your  
Eyes are Two Stars)

Capt. Shephard's March

Salem Grand March

Lexington Quickstep

Ocean Telegraph March

"When I Saw Sweet Nellie [Home]" [by  
John Fletcher]

Capt. Horton's Waltz

Capt. Jones's Waltz

Greenfield March

"Ever of Thee" [by Foley Hall] arr. by  
Edward W. Lineback [Salem Mora-  
vian]

"The Mocking Bird" (Quickstep)

*Die Huldigung die Frauen*

Gov. Vance's Inauguration March

"Here's Your Mule" Galop [by Charles  
Stein]

Pine Apple Galop

Dead March—J. A. Rosenberger

Charity

Gypsy Polka

Old North State [State Anthem of North  
Carolina]

Sweet Home

### Book 3

Orleans Cadets Quickstep [by E. O.  
Eaton]

Grand Confederate Quickstep

[excerpt from] "Lucia di Lammermoor"  
[by Donizetti]

Amity Waltz

Balloon Polka

Martha Quickstep

Enchantress Quickstep

"Gay and Happy" Medley

Rifle Regiment Quickstep

"Ben Bolt" [by N. Kreass]

Washington Greys

"Jordan" and "Wait for the Wagon"  
Quickstep

"On the Banks of the Blue Moselle"

"Thou Art Gone From My Gaze" and "Be  
Kind to the Loved Ones at Home"

Medley Quickstep "Cast that Shadow

From Thy Brow" arr. W. H. Neave  
Carolina Polka [by W. H. Neave]

Serenade Polka

"Oft in the Stilly Night"

"Bonnie Eloise" Quickstep [by G. W. El-  
liott]

"The Moon on the Leaf"

"The Prophete" March [by Meyerbeer]

Longstreet's Quickstep

Quartette from the Opera "Sharp

Shooter" [Der Freischütz]—by  
Weber

The German Father Land—Reichardt

*Die Ehre Gottes*—chorus by Beethoven

Betraite Polka

Ballade from the Opera "Zampa"—by  
Herold

"Lorena" and "Bright Smiles" [J. P. Web-  
ster]

Overture zum Melodram—by Kühner

Aria from "Child of the Regiment"—Doni-  
zetti

Rose Medley

"Happy Land of Canaan" and "Lorena"  
[J. P. Webster]

Unnumbered:

Marseilles—arr. by Edward W. Lineback  
[Salem Moravian]

"Love Me Not" Quickstep

Rainbow Schottisch

Book 4

Petit Slow March

"Here's Your Mule" [Galop] [by Charles Stein]—arr. by W. H. Neave

March from the Opera "Belisario"—arr. W. H. Neave

"Rock Me to Sleep, Mother" [by John H. Hewitt]—arr. W. H. Hartwell

Medley—"Katy Darling"—arr. W. H. Neave

Scotch Medley

Medley Quickstep "Forget and Forgive"—arr. by W. H. Neave

"Where are the Friends of My Youth"

India Rubber Overcoat Medley ("Old Slave" and "Long Ago")

Romance from "Lucretia Borgia" and "Katy Did Polka"—Grafulla

March of the Minute Men—by J. O. Eaton

Quickstep [by Grafulla]

Melange Waltz—W. H. Neave

Canary Bird Waltz—W. H. Hartwell

Empire Quickstep

Temperance Quickstep—by Coats

"Then You'll Remember Me" Quickstep [from Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl*]

"Kitty Dear" and "Do They Miss Me at Home" [by S. M. Grannis]

"Dearest I Think of Thee"—Grand March by Hartwell

Grand Confederate March Quickstep

Camp Taylor

Almack Waltz—by Nutting

Trovatore Quickstep

Mollie Bawn Quickstep

Fannie Lee Quickstep

"Why Do I Weep for Thee" [by W. V. Wallace]

"Brightest Eyes" Quickstep [by G. Stigelli]

Hope Waltz

War Path Quickstep

Soldiers Farewell Quickstep [by John H. Hewitt]

"We are Growing Old"—Quickstep "Summer Breezes"

Irish Emigrants Lament" (Medley)

Bang Wang (Quickstep)—by Downing

Serenade Waltz—composed for 26th Regiment by Amelia A. Van Vleck, arr. by E. W. Lineback [Salem Moravians]

Carolina March—composed for 26th Regi-

ment by Amelia A. Van Vleck, arr. by E. W. Lineback [Salem Moravians]

Champagne Galop

Alpine Horn Quickstep

*Invitation à la Dance*—arr. by W. H. Hartwell

Book 5

Olympic Waltz

Cousin Billy

Carolina Quickstep

Franz Schubert's "Serenade"

Princess Olga Waltz

Medley Quickstep—"Tom's Cabin" and "Goodbye"—by Grafulla

Military Parade March

Ocean Wave Quickstep

Dead March

Storm March Galop

Vaillance Polka Militaire

Honey Tongue Waltz

Philip's Military Quickstep

Statesville Quickstep

"When the Swallows Homeward Fly" [by Franz Abt]

Wild Wood Schottisch

"Parting" by Krebs (arr. by Edward W. Lineback)

Medley ("Darling Little Blue-Eyed Nell" and "Stolen Kisses are the Sweetest") [Frederic Buckley]

Milo Quickstep

Morning Star (Quickstep)

Rappahannock Polka—W. H. Hartwell

Dream of Home Waltzes—W. H. Hartwell

Air from "Falstaff" by Balfe

Double Quickstep—W. H. Hartwell

Scene and Prayer from "*Der Freischütz*"—by C. M. von Weber

Mazourka—arr. by W. H. Hartwell

Screech Owl Galop—W. H. Hartwell

"Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming" [Stephen C. Foster]

Southern Victorial March—W. H. Hartwell

Quickstep from "Sicilian Vespers"—Verdi

"Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming" and "Annie of the Vale"—[Stephen C. Foster]; [J. R. Thomas]

Elfen Waltzes

• • •

"Where has Lulu Gone" Quickstep

*Dr. Parks Grant, composer and author (Music for Elementary Teachers), has taught at Tarleton State College of Texas, Northeast Junior College of Louisiana State University, and Temple University. He is currently on the staff of the University of Mississippi.*

## A Chamber Opera With a Civil War Plot

PARKS GRANT

DURING THE PAST DECADE American music has witnessed the amazing flowering of a type of opera which is constructed so as to be performable with modest musical resources, and which requires only a limited amount of scenery and stage equipment. This is known as "chamber opera," to distinguish it from the more usual type of opera done in the grand manner, demanding virtuoso singers, a large orchestra, and elaborate scenery. The chamber opera should by no means be confused with the operetta or musical comedy, for it is first and foremost *serious music*, not mere entertainment. Really a return to the resources, if not the style, of the earliest operas (as opposed to the grandiloquent operas of the eighteenth and, especially, nineteenth centuries), the chamber opera is the American composers' answer to the indifference, even contempt, toward native works found in the professional opera house of convention and tradition. It is designed for performance by high-type amateurs; its natural habitat is the music department of the college and university, where the rapid proliferation of courses known as "opera workshop" has almost assumed the proportion of a fad—albeit a most wholesome, desirable, and forward-looking fad.

It is well known that the Civil War is one of the most likely-to-succeed topics that an author can select; the lists of "best-sellers," both fiction and non-fiction, adequately testify to this. The booming of the guns at Fort Sumter had hardly died away when the first such book appeared; since then they have poured from the presses in a steady stream. It would seem that the subject is veritably inexhaustible.



What musical work could be more practically and shrewdly planned, then, than a chamber opera with a Civil War plot? Add to this the circumstances that its first performance occurred in the very town where the action is assumed to take place and that the plot concerns university students who served in the Confederate army, then produce it with a cast of students from the same university. The result cannot fail to be an opera of strong local appeal, yet with the universal appeal that has always characterized first-rate artistic effort.

*The University Grays* is a two-act chamber opera by Arthur Kreutz, at present an associate professor on the music faculty of the University of Mississippi. Kreutz ranks high among contemporary American composers, having received the American Prix de Rome and two Guggenheim fellowships. *The University Grays* is Kreutz's third opera. The libretto is by Zoë Lund Schiller (in private life Mrs. Kreutz), who has written novels, plays, and numerous short stories. As historical background the librettist drew on the book *The University Greys* by Mrs. Maude Morrow Brown,<sup>1</sup> who like both Kreutzes is a resident of Oxford, Mississippi, seat of the University of Mississippi<sup>2</sup> and site of the opera's action (also noted as the home of the writer William Faulkner). Although the plot is predominantly fiction, it does concern a real Confederate regiment made up of University of Mississippi students whose withdrawal from classes in order to defend the cause they believed right actually forced the college to close its doors from the spring of 1861 to the fall of 1865, simply because there was no one to teach. This group was popularly known as the "University Greys," officially Company A, Eleventh Mississippi Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia.<sup>3</sup>

The opera *The University Grays* was commissioned by the University of Mississippi and is dedicated to its Chancellor, Dr. J. D. Williams. It received a double première performance on Monday and Tuesday, March 15 and 16, 1954, at Fulton Chapel on the University campus. The cast consisted entirely of students, the orchestra—purposely planned to be modest in size—of students, faculty members, and townspeople. The composer conducted, and the librettist directed the stage action. The circumstance of a local and semihistorical setting brought out an audience of such proportions that scarcely an empty seat could be found on either night. On Saturday, May 8, 1954 the corps of performers went to the studios of station WMCT in Memphis to present an abbreviated version of the opera on television.

<sup>1</sup> Published by Garrett and Massie, Inc., Richmond, Va., 1940. The spelling *Grays* is used in the opera, *Greys* in Mrs. Brown's book.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking, the University is located in an adjacent, independent municipality, University.

<sup>3</sup> Shortly before the founding of the Greys, another company, known as the "Lamar Rifles," had been organized in Oxford. See Brown, *op cit.*, p. 5.



One of the novel (and refreshing) features of the story is that whereas most Civil War fiction with a southern setting is concerned principally with the idle antebellum aristocracy or the slaves yearning for freedom, *The University Grays* chronicles the wartime life of the non-slaveholding middle-class people, whose very existence is all too often forgotten.

The action is often symbolical rather than literal; scenes that take place months or years apart may be closely juxtaposed, and events that occur in widely separated localities may be acted in various areas of a divided stage. Little or no scenery is necessary, though the quaint women's costumes of the 1860's and the imposing soldiers' uniforms provide sufficient eye-appeal to assure success.

The tragedy of the plot—building up to great intensity in the final scene—is frequently relieved by necessary moments of humor, as will be deduced from the synopsis to follow. But first, a few words regarding the musical style employed will serve as a preamble to the discussion of the separate sections of the piece.

### *The Style*

The musical style of the opera is one which anyone familiar with the work of present-day native composers immediately identifies as music of the United States—one which is perhaps *the* most typical in contemporary American music, even though "the man in the street" does not recognize it as indigenous.

In addition to normal singing, there are occasional passages halfway between singing and speech (technically known by the German terms *Sprechstimme* or *Sprechgesang*), and passages of pure speaking. The latter, however, do not resemble the spoken dialogue of operettas, for they are invariably accompanied by the orchestra, thus making them "melodramas" in the strict (though not most familiar) meaning of that term. As is to be expected in modern operas, the orchestra does much in carrying forward the musical thought; although a small group, it is seldom if ever a "mere accompaniment."

Like nearly all contemporary operas, *The University Grays* is not divided into separable and self-contained "numbers," nor can its vocal style be rigidly classified as recitative here, and aria there, though a number of passages do approach the style if not the length of the typical aria. Although by no means facile, the work is on the other hand not really difficult to perform, being completely devoid of all virtuoso display material.

One especially noteworthy feature of the style is the frequent employment of parallel major thirds, used in such a way as to produce a "cross-relation." The bittersweet effect of this device, one which is em-

**LAURA**

**BOONE**

Slightly faster

lot too warm.

Figure 1.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

played by many contemporary American composers, colors a large share of the music throughout the opera. See Figure 1, quoted from near the beginning of Act I.

*The University Grays* does not use Leitmotifs in a thorough-going, Wagnerian sense; nevertheless there are frequent quotations from one spot to another. Notable is the use of one figure (Figure 2) whose four tones often congeal to form a chord (Figure 3).

## SYNOPSIS OF ACT I

After a vigorous overture, drawn entirely from themes found in the opera proper, the curtain goes up on a commonplace enough scene: Dora McCrea, a middle-aged married woman, is paying a casual visit to her neighbor, Margaret Meadows. It is a hot summer evening in 1860. Strings playing *sul ponticello* (near the bridge) and flutter-tonguing in the flute, all combined in odd dissonances, suggest the sounds of crickets and locusts. The two women are disturbed about the constant talk of war, yet would not dream of "backing down" or "allowing those Yankees to run our affairs." Laura Meadows, Margaret's daughter and the chief female character, appears, calling to her sweetheart Boone McCrea, Dora's son and the chief male character. Boone has just decided to enroll as a law student at "Ole Miss," as the University of Mississippi is known even to this day. The two women have heard that some of the boys at "Ole Miss" are "wild," but feel sure that it is "one of the best schools in the whole state of Mississippi"—certainly better than anything "up North."

This discussion is interrupted by the arrival of Lochinvar, professor of astronomy at the university, who confides to "Miss Margaret and Miss Dora" that he feels troubled. Boone asks him if he has heard that a company of soldiers is being organized at the university by Will Lowry, to be called "The University Greys." (A certain student, William Benjamin Lowry, was actually the captain of The University Greys.) The professor knows about the project, and mentions that it has incurred the disapproval of the university's Chancellor. (Frederick A. P. Barnard, who was head of the institution from July, 1856, to October, 1861, was a Union sympathizer, and naturally opposed to students' enlistment in the Confederate army. He left Mississippi after the outbreak of hostilities and returned to the North, where he eventually founded Barnard College, now part of Columbia University.) This is the occasion for one of the most striking passages in the opera, shown in Figure 4. Lochinvar describes the planet Mars as "the god of war"; throughout the opera his references to the stars always suggest astrology and mythology rather than astronomy. Figure 4 is almost immediately followed by the passage from Boone shown in Figure 5—a passage destined to recur near the end of the opera with telling effect.

A change of scene shows the university Chancellor discussing the situation with his faculty. When he quotes the words of Lincoln, "This country cannot endure, half slave, half free" Lochinvar sings the material in Figure 6. Later he sings, "Our buildings become hospitals, the campus nearby we prepare for our dead." Several of the university buildings were in fact turned into hospitals, sometimes by the Confederate army, other times by the Union army. One of these is still standing and still used. There is a Confederate cemetery on the campus. Toward the end of this scene the Chancellor sings:

**Mysteriously** **LOCHINVAR**

Al - de - ba - ran A - pol - lo

nar - a, ca - pel - la, Na - shi - ra the Dog Star

Figure 4.

**BOONE**

Oh Lau-ra will you love me when I'm far a - way?

Figure 5.

**LOCHINVAR**  
with dignity

Half slave, half free, what phil - o - so - phy now? What phil -

Figure 6

To another generation it may be reserved to behold the fulfillment of that brilliant destiny which awaits this noble institution. I bid you now a hopeful farewell.

This is a direct quote of the words Chancellor Barnard used in real life when he parted from his faculty.

The grave atmosphere of this scene is relieved by a sprightly duet between Boone and Laura, here the prototypes of any soldier and any soldier's sweetheart. The melody is that of a folk song,<sup>4</sup> and is accompanied by twittering effects in the orchestra, suggested by the word "nightingale" which appears at one point in the text. See Figure 7.

Near the end of the duet occurs the music given in Figure 8, which uses so effectively the contrary motion that is characteristic of the style of the entire opera. When Boone asks Laura what she sees, she mentions "the face of a soldier, all covered with tears. . . . Sounds of weeping"—a presentiment of the tragedy that lies in store.

Another change of scene shows the townswomen, who are excited over the fact that Boone and Laura are soon to be married. They are sewing flags and uniforms for the troops. Mention is made of a rally to be held the following night on the square. The scene closes as they sing their evening hymn; in four-part harmony for women's voices, with flowing passages for the orchestra, it is one of the most appealing moments in the music.

The scene showing the public rally follows. A brief march passage introduces an orator who declaims:

If Mississippi, in her sovereign capacity, decides to submit to the rule of an arrogant and sectional North, then I will sit me own, as one on whose brow the brand of degradation and infamy has been written, and bear my portion of the bitter trial.

After an interruption from the chorus, he continues:

But if, on the other hand, Mississippi decides to resist the hands that will tarnish the bright star which represents her on the National Flag, then I will come at your bidding, whether by day or by night, and pluck that star from the galaxy, and place it on a banner of its own. I will plant it upon the crest of battle.

These words were actually used by Jefferson Davis in a speech at Natchez in November of 1860. The crowd hails the "bonnie blue flag" and sings a quite jazzy song about soldiers riding on a train—a reference to the fact that the University Greys left Oxford for Holly Springs, Mississippi aboard

<sup>4</sup> Except for a brief and highly disguised quotation from "Dixie" near the end of the opera, there is no other borrowed material.

## BOONE

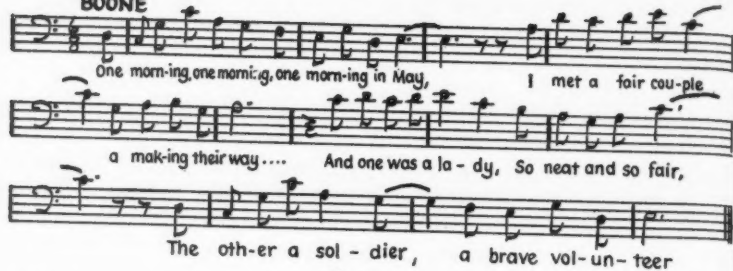


Figure 7.

LAURA Go danc-ing till day-break go court-ing that girl don't write all those  
BOONE Go danc-ing till day-break go court-ing that boy, don't tear up my  
let-ters; Don't sigh ov-er them. Don't prom-ise don't prom-ise don't  
let-ters, Don't sigh ov-er them. Please prom-ise please prom-ise, Oh

Figure 8.

Vigorously

Figure 9.



a train on May 1, 1861.<sup>5</sup> The enthusiasm of the scene is climaxed by the appearance of Professor Lochinvar, who after several lines sung in Latin encourages the soldiers to "Take that silver star from the galaxy, and place it on the banner; plant it, Southern sons, on the crest of battle. Let the wind of freedom seize its folds and carry it on to victory!"

In one of the opera's symbolical scenes, an eerie passage known as the "dream episode" (based mostly on the type of chord shown in Figure 3), Boone has a vision of fire, battle, and destruction, Laura a vision that her lover "sleeps in some far field of glory" ("sleeps" probably intended to suggest the sleep of death), while the crowd continues its salvos mingled with Lochinvar's oratory about Roman matrons bidding their sons to go forth. Numerous musical themes are united in this first act finale; it seems to sum up all the action thus far.

#### SYNOPSIS OF ACT II.

The second act opens energetically. See Figure 9. Boone and Laura have just been married while Boone was home on leave, and now a wedding party is about to begin. Margaret says she is ashamed of the wedding cake, for neither flour nor sugar were available. Dora regrets that she has to appear at the wedding of her only son—"and a hero at that"—in an old hat. Then the gay wedding party, including many uniformed soldiers, enters, and dancing begins. It is a brilliant scene.

Four soldiers convey the compliments of the general. A photographer appears with an old-fashioned camera and officiously arranges the location of each person in the party; all hold their positions stiffly until he snaps the picture. Then there is the moment for a fine aria from Laura; its opening is quoted in Figure 10. Boone, still expressing surprise that he is "a married man," soon joins his bride to form a duet. The cake is cut and the wedding party toasts first the bride, then the groom, in music of military vigor.

The scene then suddenly shifts several years into the future, and we find the soldiers, tired and confused, morale low, uncertain of their location, longing for home. See Figure 11. Boone writes a letter to his wife, his long-drawn tones contrasting effectively with the shorter tone-values sung by the male chorus. (It should be remembered that the abundance of letters written by both Union and Confederate soldiers has played a large part in the elaborate documentation of the Civil War.)

Another quick shift of scene shows what is transpiring at home. Laura tells of being annoyed by a Yankee soldier who kicked in the door and demanded liquor; she says she spit in his face. Her mother moans the appear-

<sup>5</sup> See Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 8.



Moderately

The sun was shin-ing so bright-ly when  
we walked up the aisle I'll

Figure 10.

SOLDIERS

Wear-y and sad tired and sore we crossed the Tom-big-bee  
(weary and sad)

Figure 11.

ance of Oxford, burned and ruined. (It was burned by Grant's troops.) Dora relates a touching and pathetic incident in music of profound tenderness, quoted in Figure 12.

The overwrought women, their nerves near the breaking point, complain about the constant work they must do, making bandages. Their troubles are not only increased by the appearance of Professor Lochinvar, who, after expressing compassion for Laura, proceeds with maddening deliberation to reveal that Boone has been severely wounded, many of his companions killed. Laura tells that she has dreamed of her husband's wound only the preceding night. There is a tense quartet in which she declares she must go immediately to the battlefield and get Boone, while her mother, mother-in-law, and the kindly professor frantically try to dissuade her.

**DORA**  
Lit-tle John Ev-ans is dead. The word came yes-ter-day  
morn-ing. Yes dead! Dead at Shi-loh.  
That lit-tle drum-mer boy.... was-n't but fourteen years...

Figure 12.

Figure 13.

**MARGARET** **DORA**

Now he lies slain with the he-ros of his story book Now he lies slain with the

**MARGARET** **DORA**

he-ros of chiv-al-ry ... Oh God, in what way have we of-fend-ed Thee ?

Figure 14.

**LOCHINVAR**

So chiv-al-ry dies... Lies qui-et-ly in death,

So chiv-al-ry dies

Figure 15.

We next see the soldiers in the field. The battle has just concluded. One expresses concern for Boone, certain that his wound is mortal; others are impressed by the fact that his wife came and took him home (presumably in a wagon). In a memorable passage, one soldier tells of Boone snatching the flag from a falling comrade, and of Boone's look of surprise when he fell himself. We see one soldier bending over Boone, listening for his heart-beat. There is an orchestral interlude beginning as shown in Figure 13. Observe that in its bass appears the music originally heard to the words "Laura, will you love me?" (Figure 5) and that the figure beginning with the triplet suggests the opening of Figure 1. The aforementioned almost-undiscerned reference to "Dixie" occurs near the end of this passage.

Another change of scene shows the heartbroken Laura repeating the music which Boone sang to her much earlier, already quoted in Figure 5. Margaret and Dora express their grief as shown in Figure 14. Lochinvar, after the characteristic theme associated with his philosophizing (Figure 4) and a further Latin quotation, sings the material quoted in Figure 15. (Note the presence of several chords of the type shown in Figure 3.) He expresses regret for the passing of chivalry—a reflection of the Southern expectation that the Civil War was going to be a chivalrous and heroic affair, similar to those of romantic novels, rather than a sordid, all-out war of exhaustion, as it actually turned out.

In the finale we see, symbolically rather than literally, soldiers, relatives, townspeople grouped around Boone, pointing out: "Never say he is dead; he lives in memory. . . . Heroes never die in the hearts of men." The tragedy of the scene is powerfully reflected in the music, which seems to bring together all the themes of the opera as the curtain falls.

. . .

After witnessing two performances and several rehearsals of *The University Grays*, with the resulting intense and cumulative impact, this writer would unhesitatingly declare it not merely a "good" opera, but a genuinely "great" one—the work of a significant and professional composer.

Whether this opera is taken up elsewhere and given the additional performances it merits remains to be seen. The institutions that fail to do so will be the real losers. It deserves a prominent place in American music.

# Musical Americana

(Harry Dichter) 5458 Montgomery Avenue  
Philadelphia 31, Penna.

From its series of "100 Greats"—Facsimiles of Early American Sheet Music—Musical Americana offers fourteen items related to Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War.

Single Pieces \$1.00 Each. The Set of Fourteen \$10.00.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

\***HONEST OLD ABE**  
Blodgett & Bradford, Buffalo 1860. Words by D. Wentworth. Music by A. Wide Awake. Illustration: Head and bust of bearded Lincoln. Signed in facsimile, "Yours truly, A. Lincoln".

\***OLD UNION WAGON, (THE)**  
J. Church, Jr., Cincinnati 1863. Words and music by John Hogarth Lozier. Illustration: Lincoln driving the Old Union Wagon out of the mire of Secession.

\***NATION IN TEARS, (THE)**  
Wm. Jennings Demorest, New York 1865. Words by E. C. Music by Konrad Trever. Illustration: Lincoln with beard. A dirge on the death of Lincoln.

## THE CIVIL WAR (THE NORTH)

**VACANT CHAIR (THE) or WE SHALL MEET BUT WE SHALL MISS HIM (THANKSGIVING 1861)**

Root & Cady, Chicago 1861. Words by H.S.W. Music by Geo. F. Root. The first edition.

**WHEN JOHNNY COMES MARCHING**

**HOME**  
Henry Tolman & Co., Boston 1863. Words and music by Louis Lambert. (Patrick S. Gilmore). The first edition.

\***TENTING ON THE OLD CAMP GROUND**  
Oliver Ditson & Co., Boston 1864. Words and music by Walter Kittredge. Illustration: Two tents at lower left and right on title page. Title in circle. The first edition.

\***TRAMP! TRAMP! TRAMP! THE PRISONER'S HOPE**

Root & Cady, Chicago 1864. Words and music by Geo. F. Root. Early edition. The first edition does not show copyright date.

\***SOUR APPLE TREE (THE)—or JEFF DAVIS' LAST DITCH**

Oliver Ditson & Co., Boston 1865. Words and music by J. W. Turner. Illustration: Jefferson Davis in women's clothes, carrying a bag marked "gold" fleeing for shelter of a tree. Noose is hanging from one of branches.

• Denotes an illustrated cover. Suitable for framing, 9 x 12 inches.

## BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

**BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC—OR GLORY HALLELUJAH**  
Oliver Ditson & Co., Boston 1862. Written by Mrs. S. G. Howe. The first edition.

## MARYLAND! MY MARYLAND!

\***MARYLAND! MY MARYLAND!**  
Miller & Beacham, Baltimore 1861. Words by (David A. Randall). Arranged by C(harles) E(berbrock). Illustration: Portion of shield of State of Maryland. First Edition.

## THE CIVIL WAR (THE SOUTH)

**BONNIE BLUE FLAG (THE)**

Blackmar & Bros., New Orleans 1861. Words and music by Harry Macarthy. Song on flag originally proposed for the Confederacy—a blue flag with a single star. This later gave way to the Stars and Bars.

\***GOD SAVE THE SOUTH**

Miller & Beacham, Baltimore 1863. Words by Ernest Halphin. Music by Chas. A. Elberbrock. Illustration: The Confederate Flag—The Stars and Bars.

\***O I'M A GOOD OLD REBEL**

Blackmar, New Orleans (ca. 1866). Words by I. R. Melody: (Joe Davis). Illustration: Bearded rebel wood-chopper sitting on a fallen tree. Cover drawn by Adelbert Volck, a Baltimore dentist and Southern sympathizer.

\***RALLY BOYS RALLY—OR RECONSTRUCTION**

A. E. Manning & Co., Leavenworth, Kansas 1868. Words and music by George H. Briggs. Grant & Colfax Campaign Song. First sung at Republican Convention in Chicago, 1868. Illustration: Portraits of Grant & Colfax.

An interesting booklet on early American sheet music, containing an article on Civil War songs sent anywhere upon receipt of 25c in coin or stamps.

Musical Americana offers. . .

Fifty original Civil War songs—Sheet music editions—Many with illustrated covers—The lot \$100.00

*By no one has the history of the Civil War been more competently and devotedly served than Boyd B. Stutler. His "Notes & Queries" column, which he has edited since the inception of "Civil War History," is only one of the media by which Mr. Stutler has disseminated a steady outflow of hard-core facts about the Civil War, among them this year an exhibit of original John Brown and Harpers Ferry material and a long feature—for its 180th anniversary—of the history of his own National Guard Regiment, the 150th Infantry.*

## John Brown's Body

BOYD B. STUTLER

John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave,  
His soul is marching on!

"PUT INTO ONE SUM the time[s] the name of Lincoln, the Martyred President, and Grant, the Peerless General, have been uttered and it would not make a hundredth part the number of time[s] that represents the utterance of John Brown's name in this song." That was the enthusiastic estimate of Alfred S. Roe in 1883, written at a time when there were probably more people in America who could sing "John Brown's Body" than any other song or hymn.

This estimate may not have been an exaggeration, for "John Brown's Body" was the mighty war song that had roared its way from first to last through all the four years of the Civil War—and was carried over with but little loss of popularity into the immediate postwar years. It was a song for the camp and field, and for the long marches—but it also caught the popular fancy of the folks at home, and, if we are to believe contemporary records, the song was heard everywhere, in homes, at public meetings, and on the streets, in the northern and midwestern states. Indeed, its popularity spread to foreign lands, where it was sung in English and in alien languages.

Set to the easy swing of a simple old Methodist air, slightly jazzed up, which was well known to the great mass of church-going people, with a beat that made it an almost perfect marching tune, the doggerel verses of the original composition contained the elements of simplicity and sentiment—with a touch of humor—that were essential in a popular expression to reflect the patriotic frenzy in the early months of the war. Once launched, the John Brown song rolled on like a great snowball, gaining favor and collecting scores of variant lyrics, the greatest of which—Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic"—has worn well through the years as a minor national anthem. That is the John Brown song in its glorified form.

The origin of the song has been curiously confused and involved by myth-makers, uninformed writers, and some dozen or more false claimants to the composition of both words and music. But the story is made quite clear by careful research through newspapers of the war period, letters, and old records. The most amazing feature—not, however, a recent discovery—is that John Brown, the militant antislavery crusader whose name had been impressed upon the public consciousness by his raid on Harpers Ferry and his execution at Charlestown on December 2, 1859, was not the John Brown of the original song! But to the great Northern public there was but one John Brown—he of Osawatomie and Harpers Ferry—and the song was accepted as a tribute to the man whose antislavery raid was one of the principal contributing causes of the war.

The original Brown named in the song was Sergeant John Brown of Boston. John Brown, the raider, got his song because of a public misconception, a circumstance that caused Dr. Frank H. Hodder to write that the posthumous fame of John Brown came about partly as the result of propaganda and partly as the result of the accident of the "John Brown song."

\*     \*     \*

When the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter, war fever was worked up to a white heat in Boston. Young men flocked to the headquarters of organized military units to enlist for immediate service in the South. Among these were some dozens of young Bostonians who made their way to the headquarters of the Second Battalion, Boston Light Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, an old military unit known as "The Tigers," which had been maintained very largely for social and ceremonial purposes. A new company was formed, and on April 29, 1861, under command of Major Ralph W. Newton, the battalion was ordered to occupy Fort Warren, one of the defenses on an island in Boston Harbor.

In one of the companies was a young Scotsman who bore exactly the same name as the dead raider—John Brown. It was inevitable that he would become the butt of jokes and witticisms by his comrades. "Where's John



Brown?" someone would ask. "John Brown is not here! He's dead!" would likely be the response. "What's the news?" would be asked of men returning to the fort from town leave. The response would usually be: "John Brown's dead—but he's a pretty lively corpse to go marching around." This form of hazing went on for some days, the subject usually bearing up to the bantering with good humor. Sometimes he was irritated by the barbs and sputtered out his displeasure.

There were also in the three companies of the battalion a number of good singers and a choral group, usually referred to as a quartet, but as the impromptu organization was flexible there were usually eight to twelve voices in the ensemble—including the voice of John Brown as second tenor. Others of the group whose names have been preserved were Newton Purnette, James H. Jenkins, Charles E. B. Edgerly, James E. Greenleaf, Gordon S. Brown, Louis N. Tucker, Caleb E. Niebuhr, and Henry J. Hallgreen. One of the favorite songs was an old Methodist hymn beginning "Say, brothers, will you meet us?" One line for each verse was repeated three times, with a tagline "On Canaan's happy shore." The grand old "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah" chorus was an especial favorite.

In the process of teasing Sergeant John Brown, one of the men, said to have been Henry J. Hallgreen, came up with the line, "John Brown's body lies moldering in the grave." This was instantly seized by Greenleaf, who in private life was organist of the Harvard Church in Charlestown. A tag-line was added, "His soul's marching on!" and adapted to the "Say, brothers, will you meet us?" tune. Some little tinkering was needed to quicken the music so as to make it conform to the doggerel lines. The old Methodist chorus was left unchanged; it was too good to be tampered with. Thus was born the first verse of "John Brown's Body," or "The John Brown Song" as it was first known. The balance of the song was hammered out in folk song fashion at Fort Warren over a period of several weeks.

The air was an easy one that required no vocal gymnastics; it was made to order for untrained voices. With a regiment on the march it could be roared out in such volume as to shake the walls of Jericho. It was also easy to improvise upon—one catchy line to be repeated three times, with either the old or a new tag-line—and new verses were being constantly added as the men of the battalion snake-danced around the parade each evening. Probably more lines had been added to the original verse before the song reached its larger audience than were added in World War I to the immensely popular "Hinkey, Dinkey, Parley-voo."

The extemporized lines grew in number, ranging from the ribald to the sublime, but all centered on the acts and movements of the little Scottish Sergeant, with special emphasis on his "deadness" and his ability to go marching round. These were young men, full of fun and frolic and bubbling over with animal spirits. They had not yet come to a full knowledge of

the business of war; they had not been hardened by long marches on short rations, nor had they known the mud and muck of a battlefield. They had not dodged bullets, suffered wounds, or seen the mangled bodies of their comrades, torn beyond recognition by screeching shells. To them the war was still a lark, a release from the routine of their everyday lives.

The iron had not yet entered into their souls, and in their good-natured way they had not come to the thought of hanging Jeff Davis to any kind of a tree. So the original line promising punishment to the erring President of the Southern Confederacy ran:

"We'll feed him on sour apples till he has the di-ar-rheel!" But when time came to put the song into print this verse was softened to "They will hang Jeff Davis to a tree!" And still later, after experimenting with "very first," "crab," "palmetto," and other kinds of trees, the words "sour apple" were inserted in order to fill out the meter. Dozens of other unrecorded and now forgotten verses were extemporized—perhaps not the best of them have been preserved.

True, there were John Brown songs before the Fort Warren creation, usually sung to some well-known tune, such as "Run, Tell Aunt Susey," "The Happy Land of Canaan," "John Anderson, My Jo," and at least one original composition by Charles E. Herring, set to a poem by Clarence Edmund Stedman, which was published in New York in late November, 1859. After the break of hostilities in April, 1861, even before the "Tigers" were sent to Fort Warren, tunesmiths of the Fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, then stationed at Fort Monroe, Virginia, had devised a John Brown song to the melody of "The Grave of Uncle True," a well-known ballad of the Uncle Tom-Little Eva type dating from 1854, which had its inspiration in Maria S. Cummins' immensely popular novel, *The Lamplighter*. A correspondent of the *Boston Journal*, writing from Fort Monroe under the date of April 23, quoted one verse:

May Heaven's rays look kindly down,  
Upon the grave of Old John Brown!

Though not included in the first printed versions, this fragment—all that has been preserved of the "Uncle True" song—was accepted by the "Tigers" at Fort Warren, and was later incorporated in printed song sheets and sheet music issues.

As the song began to spread beyond the confines of the island fort, Major Newton became a bit unhappy—he feared that the public would take the song as a tribute to the old antislavery crusader of Kansas and Harpers Ferry. This did not please him at all; he feared that his beloved "Tigers" would be tainted with the stigma of abolitionism. To cure matters he suggested that some other name be substituted if the men wanted to "howl that John Brown tune" continuously. But it was not until May 24, two days

before the "Tigers" were relieved from duty at Fort Warren, that another sacrificial hero was provided in the person of Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth of the New York Fire Zouaves—a protégé of President Lincoln—who was shot dead while pulling down a Confederate flag at Alexandria, Virginia.

Lines commemorating Colonel Ellsworth and his untimely death were improvised and sung with zest: "We lament the death of Colonel Ellsworth," "Colonel Ellsworth's death we will avenge," "When Ellsworth died he died like a brave," "His pet lambs will meet him on the way," and many other verses. But the effort to substitute Ellsworth's name fell flat; the John Brown song had taken hold. Only the "pet lambs" verse was retained when the song was committed to print as a reminder of the effort to switch the names, although in early issues some sheet music publishers bracketed the names of John Brown and Colonel Ellsworth as if to give the singer his choice.

At a flag-raising ceremony at Fort Warren on Sunday, May 12, the new song was first performed publicly by William J. Martland's Brockton Band, which had been designated as the Brigade Band. Greenleaf, the organist, had prepared a score, and, with the aid of a comrade who played a cornet, the tune was whistled and tooted to Samuel C. Perkins, a member of the Brockton Band, who then adapted it for band use. At the raising of the flag, after an impassioned patriotic address by the chaplain, Rev. George Hepworth, the band struck up the tune and the men joined in singing their crude verses. It created something of a sensation. Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore's Band—later to win world-wide fame—which alternated with the Brockton Band at the fort, took the tune to Boston to enliven parades and military reviews.

Though the Second Battalion had offered its services to the Union as a unit, the offer was rejected because of an order to accept only regimental organizations of not less than ten companies. The fort was filling up with the newly recruited companies of the Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, commanded by Colonel Fletcher Webster—a son of Daniel Webster—and on May 26 the "Tigers" were relieved and ordered to return to Boston. Many of the men who liked their brief taste of military life rushed to enlist in the Twelfth; among them were Jenkins, Purnette, Edgerly, John Brown, and other members of the "Tiger" choral group. Thus the Twelfth Massachusetts became heir to the John Brown song, and it is with that regiment that its origin is generally credited.

Boston heard the John Brown song sung on July 18, when the regiment was reviewed on Boston Common and given a flag from the ladies of the city. Edward Everett, Boston's old man eloquent, made the presentation. After what seemed an interminably long time, but really too short to train adequately the raw recruits, the Twelfth left for the front on July 23, hard on the heels of the defeat and rout of the Union forces at Bull Run. Boston

heard the song again, and on the following day, July 24, the Twelfth made its greatest impression when it marched down Broadway in New York City roaring the wild strains of "John Brown's Body."

The song was slower in receiving newspaper publicity than oral favor. The first instance of newspaper mention was in the *New York Sunday Mercury* for July 21, 1861—just three days before the Broadway march—when a Boston police court incident was reported by a correspondent. One Johnny Rounders had created a disturbance by singing "John Brown's bones hang dangling in the air," finishing off with the "hallelujah" chorus. On July 28th, the complete song was first printed in the *New York Tribune*, as a follow-up to the story of the Broadway march. On August 9, 1861, after the song had reached the shores of Lake Michigan, the *Chicago Tribune* in a lengthy comment said: "It is a queer medley, but the soldiers like it and sing it with great energy to an old camp meeting melody. The Virginians will think that John Brown is worshipped as a Northern hero, in spite of all denials, if even Fletcher Webster's Boston troops sing a song as this. So on all hands Providence seems to be involving slavery with the war, notwithstanding the most sincere efforts of patriotism and statesmanship to keep the constitutional lines distinct."

It was the New York march that gave the outfit the nickname "Hallelujah Regiment," and it was this triumphant march that really started the "John Brown Song" on its eternal way.

The Twelfth Regiment reached Harpers Ferry on July 28 and Charlestown several days later, the scenes of John Brown's defeat and execution, where the song was rendered with special fervor. It was now an accepted part of the war pattern. And Sergeant John Brown of Boston was a forgotten name.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Greenleaf had enlisted the aid of C. S. Hall, of Charlestown, to put the song into shape for formal presentation to the public. From the dozens of verses submitted, Hall selected five, and added a verse of his own composition. The five selected were:

a) "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave." This was the first verse suggested by Hallgreen as a jibe at Sergeant John Brown of Boston.

b) "He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord." Still Sergeant Brown, borrowing a pet expression from the army chaplains who constantly referred to the Union volunteers as "the army of the Lord."

c) "John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back." Again Sergeant Brown, a short, stout chap who had considerable difficulty in adjusting his knapsack and blanket roll. The next line, rejected, told of its content: "It is filled with leaden bullets and moldy hardtack."

<sup>1</sup> Sergeant John Brown was drowned while crossing the Rappahannock River on June 6, 1862.

d) "His pet lambs will meet him on the way." This is a vestige of the effort to inject Ellsworth's name into the song. His regiment, the New York Fire Zouaves, was nicknamed "Ellsworth's pet lambs."

e) "They will hang Jeff Davis to a tree," is a refinement of the earlier promise to "feed him on sour apples" until overtaken with the resultant abdominal disturbance. As originally printed the line was too short for the meter; "sour apple" was inserted in later printings.

And, last, the song was completed with Hall's "Now, three rousing cheers for the Union," a verse that lasted throughout the war. The "Glory, Halle, Hallelujah" chorus was rendered after each verse. In all it was, as Richard Grant White said, a "senseless farrago," but it was set to an air that "stuck to the ears like burrs to the skirt of a blackberry girl."

Hall published his selection on a 6x9-inch penny ballad sheet under the title "John Brown Song," bearing only the imprint "Published at 256 Main Street, Charlestown, Mass." This issue was quickly sold out on the streets of Boston (today the only surviving copy is in the Boston Public Library). The quick sale of the ballad sheet encouraged Hall to bring out a more elaborate issue with both words and music. He enlisted the aid of C. B. Marsh, a well-known Charlestown musician, to arrange the music, and about mid-July brought out the second printing on half-sheet note paper, bearing an eagle and arrows at the top, no border, and with the simple title "John Brown." At the head of the music the source was given as "Origin, Fort Warren," and "Music arranged by C. B. Marsh." At the bottom the name of C. S. Hall was added to the imprint, and a copyright notice was inserted. The copyright, shown in the original record in the Library of Congress, was dated July 16, 1861. Only three copies of this broadside are on record.

Quick to scent a popular hit, music publishers grabbed the little sheet and, under various titles, printed the John Brown song in thousands of copies. The record discloses that within eight days four copyrights for the identical song—starting with the Hall broadside on July 16—were issued by the Clerk of the Massachusetts Federal District Court. The other three were:

July 19, 1861—"The Popular John Brown Song . . . Partly Written, Composed and Arranged by Frank Wilder." This copyright was taken in the name of J. W. Turner.

July 20—"John Brown's Song. Music by Philip Simonds." Copyrighted and published by Russell and Patee.

July 24—"The Popular Refrain of Glory, Hallelujah. As sung by Federal Volunteers throughout the Union." Copyrighted and published by Oliver Ditson and Company. No credit for music arrangement is given. This sheet has the first traced appearance of the "stars of heaven" verse from "The



Grave of Uncle True," which had its origin with the Fourth Massachusetts at Fort Monroe, Virginia.

In all, from first to last, before the war dragged wearily to its close, some sixty-five separate pieces of sheet music on the John Brown-Glory Hallelujah theme had been issued by music publishers ranging across the country from Boston to San Francisco. Penny song sheets were put out without number, and every pocket songster, of which many were printed and sold, contained the "John Brown Song" and usually two or more variant lyrics set to the same air.

\*     \*     \*

If the story of the origin of "John Brown's Body" is confused and complicated, that of the composition of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" seems crystal clear and well documented. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe herself told the story many times in her talks and in her books and magazine articles, usually deftly injecting a note of mysticism into the narrative to account for her inspiration. But when sifted down it would seem that her inspiration came from a deliberate purpose to write a lyric that would give dignity, strength, and patriotic fervor to the air of "John Brown's Body," then the most popular song.

Mrs. Howe was the wife of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, reformer and philanthropist, and she moved in the most elite social and literary circles in Boston and New York. Before the war she had written poems and published books and had therefore earned some literary reputation in her own right. She was deeply concerned with public questions, the war efforts, and a varied assortment of reforms.

When hostilities opened in April, 1861, Dr. Howe was named a member of the National Sanitary Commission. In November, 1861, together with a group of Boston friends, Mrs. Howe accompanied her husband to Washington where the duties of the Commission required him to spend a great deal of time. There Mrs. Howe first came into contact with soldiers on active duty and with the realities of the national struggle; she saw the glowing campfires of the pickets on the Washington defense line—the "watchfires of a hundred circling camps"—and she was stirred by the constant flow of marching men, the gallop of horsemen, and the stream of ambulances bringing in sick and wounded to the hospitals in the city.

A review of troops of the Army of the Potomac was scheduled to be held on the Virginia side on November 18, and Mrs. Howe was eager to see the display. A carriage was provided, reminiscent of the stream of Washington sightseers who went out to witness the Battle of Bull Run in the previous July, and Mrs. Howe, together with her pastor, Dr. James Freeman Clarke, and Mr. and Mrs. Edwin P. Whipple, Boston friends, set out for the scene. They were disappointed; instead of a glittering display of galloping cavalry and marching men with bayonets burnished like "fiery



rows of steel," the maneuvers were broken by the sudden dash of a Confederate raiding party.

Progress was slow on return to the city, with the roads blocked by military units and the carriages of the sightseers. The men marched by, many groups singing "John Brown's Body," in which Mrs. Howe and her friends joined. The tired troopers, thus encouraged to sing more lustily, called out, "Good for you." Dr. Clarke, the Boston pastor, turned to Mrs. Howe and suggested that she write some more appropriate words to dress up the grand old air. She said she had often wished to write some words that could be sung to it. Of her "inspiration" the next day Mrs. Howe wrote as follows:

I slept as usual that night, but awoke before dawn the next morning, and soon found myself trying to weave together certain lines which, though not entirely suited to the John Brown music, were yet capable of being sung to it. I lay still in the dark room, line after line shaping itself in my mind, and verse after verse. When I had thought out the last of these, I felt that I must make an effort to place them beyond the danger of being effaced by a morning nap.

I sprang out of bed and groped about in the dim twilight to find a bit of paper and a stump of a pen which I remembered to have had the evening before. Having found these articles and having long been accustomed to scribble with scarcely any sight of what I might write in a room made dark for the repose of my infant children, I began to write the lines of my poem in like manner. . . . On the occasion now spoken of, I completed writing, went back to bed and fell fast asleep.

When Mrs. Howe died on October 17, 1910, she went to her grave to the strains of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

The original manuscript has been long lost, but its form has been preserved in facsimile. It was written on two sheets of Sanitary Commission letter paper and bears the manuscript date "Nov. 1861." The poem was complete when written. Only a few alterations or corrections were made, though a sixth verse was rejected as not in consonance with the elevated spirit of the first five verses.

On her return to Boston the poem was submitted to James T. Fields, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and accepted for five dollars. Fields wrote the title "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and the poem was given the place of honor on the first page of the *Atlantic* for February, 1862.<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough, though the poem was clearly the property of the magazine, it was first printed by the *New York Tribune* on January 14, 1862. Publication of the February *Atlantic* came some days later, about the 18th, according to advertisements in the Boston newspapers. The *Tribune* probably obtained its copy from advance sheets sent out by the magazine.

Reprintings from the first two printed sources were soon widespread in newspapers throughout the country. Although everyone knew the air,

<sup>2</sup> A discovery made by James F. Fuld, New York lawyer, whose avocation is the history of American music.

the sheet music sale was tremendous when Oliver Ditson and Company, of Boston, brought out an issue in early April. The official copyright record is dated April 9, 1862, and a copy of the published music was filed on the same date: "Battle Hymn of the Republic. Adapted to the Favorite Melody 'Glory, Hallelujah' Written by Mrs. Dr. S. G. Howe, for the *Atlantic Monthly*."

"Battle Hymn" is a stately song and its lines have long outlived the doggerel that gave the inspiration. It is a song for the home, the schools, public meetings, and ceremonial occasions and was immensely popular during the war, though it never supplanted "John Brown's Body" as the soldier's song in the field and on the march. And still today it holds a firm position among the national hymns and anthems.

\*     \*     \*

The origin of the air to which "John Brown's Body" and the "Battle Hymn" are adapted is unknown. Apparently, it was originally sung to the words of drinking ballads, marching songs, sailor chanteys, and the like. Some years ago, in a Stockholm musical library, Professor Bodin found an old manuscript—probably predating 1700—of a drinking song relating the misadventures of a sailor in Limping Lotta's saloon, set to music clearly recognizable as the modern tune.

Charles Wesley, who did not believe in letting the devil have all the good tunes, heard the air on the streets of London. He set some elevated words to it and launched it on a new career as a church hymn. Thus, it came to America as a Methodist hymn tune, if indeed it had not been heard earlier as a sailor chantey. In fact, in its basic form it was a genuine folk air.

The air served as a vehicle for several sets of words, but most popular and best remembered is "Say, brothers, will you meet us?" which, in my youth, I heard many times in revival meetings held in my native West Virginia. But its popular use has not been confined to the church and to two national songs—it has been employed in scores, perhaps hundreds, of other ways, for political rallying songs, campus chants, and ribald rhymes, and it has worn well for parodies and extemporized songs through all the wars. In World War I it was sung to "All we do is sign the payroll" and with the exception of "Hinkey, Dinkey, Parley-voo" no other song was sung oftener by the AEF.

The distribution is world-wide; the Germans in World War I sang "Glori, Glori to the girls of sixteen, seventeen years," and in World War II it was "Lora, Lora," the Nazi marching song. "John Brown's Body" has long been popular in the British Army, and with the British Legion was sung as a personal tribute to Major General Sir John Brown. In World War II the Australian Ninth Division landed in Borneo off Brunei Bay singing Australia's words to the tune of "John Brown's Body."

*Dr. Chase, a journalist, editor, critic, scholar, and teacher, has served as consultant to the Music Division of the Library of Congress and has lectured at numerous American and Latin American universities. Since 1951 he has been active in the Foreign Service, attached as Cultural Affairs Officer to the American Embassies in Lima, Buenos Aires, and, starting this year, Brussels. His numerous publications, particularly on Spanish, Latin American, and American music, include The Music of Spain and America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present.*

## A Note on Negro Spirituals

GILBERT CHASE

ON NOVEMBER 20, 1862, almost two months after the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued by Lincoln, a Northern school teacher named Charlotte Forten wrote a letter describing her experiences at St. Helena's Island, South Carolina, where she was teaching Negro children (and some adults). A granddaughter of James Forten of Philadelphia, she had received her educational training at the State Normal School in Salem, Massachusetts, and, like many other teachers, had come to the South in the midst of war to help educate the emancipated slaves. In her letter she wrote as follows:

St. Helena's Island, on which I am, is about six miles from the mainland of Beaufort. I must tell you that we were rowed thither from Beaufort by a crew of Negro boatmen, and that they sang for us several of their own beautiful songs. There is a peculiar wildness and solemnity about them which cannot be described, and the people accompanying the singing with a singular swaying motion of the body, which seems to make it more effective. How much I enjoyed that row in the beautiful, brilliant southern sunset, with no sounds to be heard but the musical murmur of the water, and the wonderfully rich, clear tones of the singers! But all the time I did not realize that I was actually in South Carolina! And indeed I believe I do not quite realize it now. But we were far from feeling fear, —we were in a very excited, jubilant state of mind, and sang the John Brown song with spirit, as we drove through the pines and palmettos. Ah! it was good to be able to sing that *here*, in the very heart of Rebeldom!

There are no white soldiers on this island. It is protected by gunboats, and by Negro pickets who do their duty well. These men attacked and drove back a boat-

load of rebels who tried to land here one night, several weeks ago. General [Rufus] Saxton is forming a colored regiment at Beaufort, and many of the colored men from this and the adjacent islands have joined it . . .

Miss Forten then goes on to tell about her school, where, together with two companions, she taught some eighty to ninety pupils.

It is a great happiness to teach them. I wish some of those persons at the North, who say the race is hopelessly and naturally inferior, could see the readiness with which these children, so long depressed and deprived of every privilege, learn and understand. . . . The children have just learned the John Brown song, and next week they are going to learn the song of the "Negro Boatman." The little creatures love to sing. They sing with the greatest enthusiasm. I wish you could hear them.<sup>1</sup>

This letter corroborates the testimony of other writers, including Thomas Jefferson and John Davies in the eighteenth century, concerning the musical aptitude and vocal enthusiasm of the Negroes. Frances Anne Kemble, the English actress and writer who was married to Pierce Butler, wrote at considerable length and in some detail about the singing of the Negroes in her *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839*.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later another English writer, Sir Charles Lyell, visited a southern plantation, and like Fanny Kemble and Charlotte Forten, mentions in his account the singing of the Negro boatmen, of whom he writes: "Occasionally they struck up a hymn, taught them by the Methodists, in which the most sacred subjects were handled with a strange familiarity."<sup>3</sup> The Rev. William W. Mallet, an English clergyman who visited the South in the summer of 1862, wrote about his impressions of the Negroes' singing:

Just before bed-time more solemn sounds are heard: the Negro is demonstrative in his religion, and loud and musical were heard every evening the hymns. . . . Remarkable for correctness are their songs, and both men's and women's voices mingled in soft though far-sounding harmony. Some old church tunes I recognized.<sup>4</sup>

The English war correspondent William Howard Russell, in his book *My*

<sup>1</sup> This letter was originally published in *The Liberator* of December 12, 1862. It is reprinted in *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, edited by Herbert Aptheker (New York: The Citadel Press, [1951]), pp. 491-93.

<sup>2</sup> The pertinent passages are reproduced in my book *America's Music* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955), pp. 232-34.

<sup>3</sup> Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (New York, 1849), p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Mallet, *An Errand to the South in the Summer of 1862*, p. 49. Cited by Guy B. Johnson in *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* (Chapel Hill, 1930), p. 85.

*Diary North and South* (Boston, 1863), has several passages referring to the singing and the dancing of the Negroes. In April, 1861, Russell was in Charleston, S.C., and from there was taken to visit "a small farm and plantation, some miles from the city." For the visitor's entertainment, some of the Negro children were made to sing. This is Russell's description of the event:

At the rear of the cottage-like residence . . . in which the planter's family lived, was a small enclosure, surrounded by a palisade, containing a number of wooden sheds, which were the negro quarters; and after dinner, as we sat on the steps, the children were sent for to sing for us. They came very shyly, and by degrees; first peeping around the corners and from behind trees, oftentimes running away in spite of the orders of their haggard mammies, till they were chased, captured, and brought back by their elder brethren. They were ragged, dirty, shoeless urchins of both sexes. . . . With much difficulty the elder children were dressed into line; then they began to shuffle their flat feet, to clap their hands, and to drawl out in a monotonous sort of chant something about the "River Jaw-dam" . . .<sup>5</sup>

Russell, obviously, was not edified by this performance. What he describes is evidently a "shout," but under such circumstances of constraint and enforced exhibition that its true character could scarcely be revealed. Compare, for instance, the account of a genuine, communal Negro "shout" or "holy dance" as described by an eyewitness in *The Nation* of May 30, 1867:

. . . The true "shout" takes place on Sundays, or on "praise" nights through the week, and either in the praise-house or in some cabin in which a regular religious meeting has been held. Very likely more than half the population of a plantation is gathered together. . . . The benches are pushed back to the wall when the formal meeting is over, and old and young, men and women . . . all stand up in the middle of the floor, and when the "sperichil" is struck up begin first walking and by and by shuffling around, one after another, in a ring. The foot is hardly taken from the floor, and the progression is mainly due to a jerking, hitching motion which agitates the entire shouter and soon brings out streams of perspiration. Sometimes they dance silently, sometimes as they shuffle they sing the chorus of the spiritual, and sometimes the song itself is also sung by the dancers. But more frequently a band, composed of some of the best singers and of tired shouters, stand at the side of the room to "base" the others, singing the body of the song and clapping their hands together or on the knees. Song and dance are alike extremely energetic, and often, when the shout lasts into the middle of the night, the monotonous thud, thud of the feet prevents sleep within half a mile of the praise-house.

<sup>5</sup> Russell, *My Diary North and South* (Boston, 1863), p. 126.

Compared to the preceding description, in itself but a pale verbal reflection of vivid reality, Mr. Russell's performers presented a mild and abbreviated version.

On April 26, 1862, Russell left Charleston to visit "Mr. Trescot's Sea Island Plantation," going by rail to Pocotaligo, whence he and his party were rowed to the plantation on Barnwell Island. On this occasion the English writer was considerably impressed by the singing of the Negro oarsmen:

A canoe was lying in a little harbor formed by a slope in the bank, and four stout negroes, who were seated round a burning log, engaged in smoking and eating oysters, rose as we approached, and helped the party into the "dug-out" or canoe, a narrow, long, and heavy boat, with wall sides and a flat floor. A row of one hour, the latter part of it in darkness, took us to the verge of Mr. Trescot's estate, Barnwell Island; and the oarsmen, as they bent to their task, beguiled the way by singing in unison a real negro melody, which was as unlike the works of the Ethiopian Serenaders as anything in song could be unlike another. It was a barbaric sort of madrigal, in which one singer beginning was followed by the others in unison, repeating the refrain in chorus, and full of quaint expression and melancholy:—

Oh, your soull oh, my soull I'm going to the churchyard to lay this  
this body down;

Oh, my soull oh, your soull we're going to the churchyard to  
to lay this nigger down.

And then some appeal to the difficulty of passing "the Jawdam," constituted the whole of the song, which continued with unabated energy through the whole of the little voyage.<sup>6</sup>

During the same visit, while on a fishing expedition with his host, Russell again heard the oarsmen singing at the task, though this time they were weary from having "already come some twelve miles," and were singing under compulsion: "Nevertheless, they were told to sing, and they began one of those wild Baptist chants about the Jordan in which they delight,—not destitute of music, but utterly unlike what is called an Ethiopian melody" [the name currently given to American blackface minstrel songs].<sup>7</sup>

From all of these descriptions, whatever their appeal or accuracy of observation may be, one technical detail, of fundamental importance for our subject, may be extracted: the singing of the Negroes was in unison. Fanny Kemble was specific on this point, and so is Russell. Though Mallet mentions "harmony," the indications are that he was using this term in a figurative sense, as so many writers have done. On the other hand, "unison" is a technical term, and when used in regard to singing can have only one,

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.



specific connotation. Nevertheless, in itself, and as commonly understood in the convention of Western European music, the term "unison" applied to Negro singing conveys only a partial notion of the reality, and is therefore somewhat misleading. For some clarification of this matter, we may turn to the first collection of American Negro spirituals to appear in print, *Slave Songs of the United States*, published in New York in 1867, and edited by William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison.<sup>8</sup>

These editors were members of an educational mission from the North that was sent to the Port Royal Islands in 1861 for the purpose of studying the condition of the Negroes and advising on methods for their education. Thus, their interest in the music of the Negroes was incidental; but it was nonetheless strong and sincere, and productive of important results. The fact is that they were fascinated by the singing of the Negroes and set out to collect as many songs as they could.<sup>9</sup> Eventually they printed the tunes and the words, but had the good sense not to attempt any harmonizations or instrumental accompaniments. They were also frank enough to admit that it was virtually impossible to notate the music exactly as it was sung by the Negroes. In their Preface they wrote:

It is difficult to express the entire character of these negro ballads by mere musical notes and signs. The odd turns made in the throat and the curious rhythmic effect produced by single voices chiming in at different irregular intervals seem almost as impossible to place on the score as the singing of birds or the tones of an aeolian harp.

Regarding the actual manner of singing, the editors give a fairly comprehensive description:

There is no singing in *parts*, as we understand it, and yet no two appear to be singing the same thing; the leading singer starts the words of each verse, often improvising, and the others, who "base" him, as it is called, strike in with the refrain, or even join in the solo when the words are familiar. When the "base" begins the leader often stops, leaving the rest of the words to be guessed at, or it may be they are taken up by one of the other singers. And the "basers" themselves seem to follow their own whims, beginning when they please and leaving off when they please, striking an octave above or below (in case they have pitched the tune too high), or hitting some other note that "chords," so as to produce the

<sup>8</sup> Reprinted by Peter Smith, New York, 1929 and 1951.

<sup>9</sup> "The agents of the mission were not long in discovering the rich vein of music that existed in these half-barbarous people, and when visitors from the North were on the islands, there was nothing that seemed better worth their while than to see a 'shout' or hear the people sing their 'Sperichils'." Preface to *Slave Songs of the United States*.

effect of a marvellous complication and variety and yet with the most perfect time and rarely with an discord. And what makes it all the harder to unravel a thread of melody out of this strange network is that, like the birds, they seem not infrequently to strike sounds that cannot be precisely represented by the gamut and abound in "slides from one note to another and turns and cadences not in articulated notes."

This is an extremely significant statement about the real character of Negro singing. It confirms the statements by Mrs. Kemble and W. H. Russell that the singing was not in parts, as understood in the European system of harmonic progression; and it explains why the singing sounded entirely different both from ordinary unison and from conventional part-singing. Modern systematic study of Negro singing, aided by mechanical recordings, in turn, confirm and amplify with specific data the description given by Allen and his associates, enabling us to reconstruct the complete "network" of sounds in all its "marvellous complication and variety," with its "slides" and slurs, and its "dirty" or "blue" microtonal intervals, which he describes as sounds "that cannot be precisely represented by the gamut" (i.e., the diatonic scale).

Before the publication of the collection edited by Allen and his colleagues several Negro spirituals were printed in Northern periodicals. To the best of my knowledge, the first to appear in print was "Roll, Jordan, Roll," published in 1862 by Miss Lucy McKim (later Mrs. Garrison) of Philadelphia. The second appears to have been "Done Wid Driber's Dribin'," published by H. G. Spaulding in *The Continental Monthly* for August, 1863, in an article titled "Under the Palmetto." As I have elsewhere remarked, this is one of the very few spirituals that make direct reference to emancipation. The verses begin, "Done wid driber's dribin'," and continue with "Done wid Massa's hollerin'" and "Done wid Missus' scoldin'."

Once the spirituals had been "discovered" by the Northern educators, there was much speculation as to their origin. How did they come into existence? Who created them? In seeking to answer these questions, several writers interviewed the Negroes themselves. The editors of *Slave Songs of the United States* quote a passage from an address delivered by J. Miller McKim in Philadelphia on July 9, 1862, in which he tells about one of these attempts to elicit information about the genesis of the spirituals:

I asked one of these blacks, one of the most intelligent of them, where they got these songs.

"Dey make 'em, sah."

"How do they make them?"

After a pause, evidently casting about for an explanation, he said:

"I'll tell you; it's dis way: My master call me up an' order me a short peck of corn and a hundred lash. My friends see it and is sorry for me. When dey come to

de praise meeting dat night dey sing about it. Some's very good singers and know how; and dey work it in, you know, till dey get it right; and dat's de way."<sup>10</sup>

In June, 1867, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson published in the *Atlantic Monthly* an essay titled "Negro Spirituals," in which he tells of a conversation with a young Negro oarsman who rowed him from Beaufort to Ladies' Island:

One of the oarsmen, a brisk young fellow . . . on being asked for his theory of the matter, dropped out a coy confession. "Some good sperituals," he said, "are start jest out o' curiosity. I bin a-raise a sing myself once." . . . I implored him to proceed.

"Once we boys went for tote some rice, and de nigger driver, he keep a-callin' on us: and I say, 'O, de ole nigger driver!' Den anudder said, 'Fust t'ing my mam-my tole me was not'in' so bad as a nigger driver.' Den I made a sing, just puttin' a word and den anudder word."

Then he began to sing and the men, after listening a moment, joined in the chorus as if it were an old acquaintance, though they evidently had never heard it before. I saw how easily a new 'sing' took root among them.

In the same article, Colonel Higginson published the words and melody of a spiritual, "No More Peck o' Corn for Me," also known, from its refrain, as "Many Thousands Go." The verses continue with "No more driver's lash for me," "No more pint o' salt for me," "No more hundred lash for me," etc. According to Higginson, this was first sung when Beauregard took the slaves to the sea islands to build the fortifications at Hilton Head and Bay Point.

In summary, if we take all the contemporary accounts of Negro singing, beginning with those of Jefferson and Davies in the eighteenth century and continuing through the Civil War years and the first decades of the post-bellum period, brief and incidental though some of these accounts may be; and if we scrutinize them carefully, collating them with each other and with the data collected by folklorists and anthropologists of the present century, we can form a rather adequate notion of the characteristics of this song, entirely *sui generis*, which has so greatly enriched America's music.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in the Preface to *Slave Songs of the United States*.

*The only publication devoted exclusively to  
Abraham Lincoln and his time*

# LINCOLN HERALD

*A Magazine of history published quarterly by Lincoln Memorial University Press, Harrogate (near Cumberland Gap), Tennessee.*

**EDITORIAL POLICY:** To disseminate the ideals of Abraham Lincoln and the American way of life particularly as they relate to American education.

Our board of editors and advisors includes many of the leading authorities in the Lincoln field, including:

BRUCE CATTON

A. E. GELDHOF

ROBERT L. KINCAID

CARL HAVERLIN

E. B. LONG

OLIVE CARRUTHERS

R. GERALD MCMURTRY

J. WINSTON COLEMAN, JR.

CARL SANDBURG

RICHARD F. LUFKIN

ALLAN NEVINS

CLYDE C. WALTON

RALPH G. NEWMAN

MARION D. PRATT

DAVID J. HARKNESS

WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND

**NON-PARTISAN:** Seeks to present objective, historical facts pertaining to the Civil War from both the Northern and Southern viewpoints.

**FEATURE ARTICLES:** Each issue contains a number of feature articles by eminent historians and writers, relating to Lincoln and other personalities and the events of his period.

**LINCOLN FRATERNITY:** Reports on the activities of the Civil War Round Tables and the Lincoln Fellowships and Groups throughout the country, with human interest stories concerning authorities and collectors.

**BOOK REVIEWS:** Scholarly and impartial analysis of books as they come from the press, as well as news of works in progress and comment on Lincoln and Civil War publishing trends.

**CIRCULATION:** Paid circulation includes most of the nation's leading collectors, scholars and enthusiasts in the Lincoln-Civil War period, as well as libraries, historical societies, universities, study groups, publishers and booksellers. Our list of subscribers includes institutions and individuals in other countries.

**\$4.00 PER YEAR (four issues)**

*Professor Bernard teaches history at Boston University, where he also serves as Curator of the Lincoln Collections. His published writings have included studies on the Civil War and Lincolniana.*

# Lincoln and the Music Of the Civil War

KENNETH A. BERNARD

FOR SOME TIME, the evening of March 4, 1861, Prof. Weber's Band had been playing lively dance tunes—waltzes, polkas, mazurkas—for the crowd assembled in the huge, 250 by 60 foot hall specially constructed, and vividly decorated, for the first social affair of the new administration, the Inaugural Ball. Then, well along in the evening, came the event for which all had been waiting—the appearance of the President and his guests. As Mr. Lincoln and Mayor Joseph Berret entered the hall, the Band struck up "Hail to the Chief," and to its stirring strains the Presidential party did the "grand march" the full length of the hall.

Shortly, the dancing continued, well-wishers greeted the President, who looked "worried and exhausted," or who appeared to be the "one and only continuous bright spot"—depending upon the reporter or opinion—members of the Presidential party participated in the dancing (with Mrs. Lincoln and Senator Douglas partners in a quadrille), and it was well after twelve o'clock when the new occupants of the Executive Mansion left the hall. One of the Presidential party summed it up thus:

Like all similar functions it was more of a reception, and "dress parade" where the President is on exhibition, and he and his family march through the ranks of observers and critics, and are then at liberty to leave the scene, after witnessing the attack of the hungry skirmishers on the supper table, and of this permission we most gladly availed ourselves at an early hour.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, "Six Months in the White House," Ill. State Hist. Soc. Journal, XIX (Oct. 1926—Jan. 1927), 47.

It had been a strenuous day, the first of many strenuous days to come, a day in which much of Mr. Lincoln's time had been devoted to important public functions, for he was now the head of a Union that apparently was crumbling. And as the public functions of the day had had a musical background with bands playing at the Inauguration and at the Inaugural Ball, so it was to be for the next four years; in the Capital, in the towns and cities of the North and the villages of the South, in the army camps and on the battlefields there was to be much music—martial music to stimulate and sustain, folk music to bind the ties, popular music to arouse enthusiasm, religious music to give comfort and hope. In the agony of war both the people and the people's President would hear this music.

But though the President would hear much music, he would not always listen to what was being played or even be conscious of it, for much of the time he would be too preoccupied—or distracted—by matters ever pressing for attention. Yet there would be times when he *would* hear and *would* listen, times when he would be deeply thrilled and deeply moved, times when he could relax and be soothed by the familiar tunes, times when he would make requests for particular pieces, times when he would compliment the players, times when he would be sustained, and times when he would be brought to tears.

Mr. Lincoln was soon to become accustomed to the piece that was played both at the Inaugural ceremonies and the Inaugural Ball on March 4, 1861. He had heard it a few evenings before when a large crowd gathered outside Willard's Hotel to serenade him. Responding with a brief speech of good will, he had closed by saying: "And now my friends with these very few remarks, I again return my thanks for this compliment, and expressing my desire to hear a little more of your good music, I bid you good night."<sup>2</sup> He was to hear the piece numberless times in the next four years.

Hail to the Chief, who in triumph advances—

The tune may have been adaptable to the bands of the times and was certainly popular, but the words hardly fitted the new president—advancing in triumph was not his way. There were many in the city and throughout the nation who were dubious of the ability of the untried frontier lawyer. They could not see that beneath Lincoln's seeming slowness and hesitancy was a deep understanding and an iron determination. There were many in the city and throughout the nation who were not in accord with the idea of the frontier lawyer as the "Chief." Those of this mind in

<sup>2</sup> *Evening Star* (Washington), March 1, 1861; Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), IV, 247-48 (hereafter cited as *Lincoln, Works*).



the Capital who were musically inclined took opportunity whenever possible to fill the air with strains of "Dixie," "Bonnie Blue Flag," and other secessionist airs. Gideon Welles thought the atmosphere "thick with treason" during the early days of this spring of 1861; if it wasn't treason it was at least defiance that moved Southern belles to open the windows and sing "Dixie" or "Maryland, My Maryland," when Mrs. Lincoln's carriage approached. Would these same belles have been annoyed—or pleased—had they known that Mr. Lincoln had a great liking for "Dixie," which he had first heard at a minstrel show in Chicago just a year ago?

President Lincoln was very fond of band music and was to hear it on many occasions in the next four years, but never would he hear it with such relief as on the 25th of April, 1861. Having issued his call for 75,000 volunteers, he waited; the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had arrived on April 19, but the city was then cut off and isolated. "Why don't they come?" Lincoln asked. On the 25th his question was answered, for the élite Seventh New York Regiment arrived on that day and marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to the accompaniment of its own famous band. Other regiments soon arrived, and the city was no longer without defenders. As regiment after regiment crowded into the city, there were parades and reviews in the city and in the army camps that surrounded it. In addition there were concerts and flag-raising, celebrations and patriotic meetings—always with the martial music of the bands, and very often with the President in attendance. And when the President visited the army in the field there were grand reviews and martial music.

Thus it was that on May 2, 1861, before a great assembly of people gathered at the Patent Office for a flag-raising ceremony, the President witnessed the smart drilling of a newly arrived Rhode Island regiment, heard it sing "Our Flag Still Waves," and heard John T. Parsons sing "in brilliant style" "The Flag of Our Union." Later in the same month he attended another similar ceremony at the nearby Post Office Building. Here he was greeted by a popular air played by the Hartford Cornet Band, and, as he raised the flag, the band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner."

Toward the end of June an elaborate flag-raising ceremony was held on the White House grounds. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 29th, the Twelfth New York Regiment with Wither's Band and a United States Infantry unit with the Marine Band arrived and formed a hollow square. A blue and white canopy or tent had been erected, through which rose the twenty-five foot flag pole. After a prayer by Rev. Smith Pyne (whose church Lincoln had attended on his first Sunday in the Capital) the President raised the flag to the music of both bands. The flag, one which had already been through enemy fire, was slightly torn in the process, but it didn't matter. The crowd cheered, a thirty-four gun salute was fired, and more "national airs" were played, and when General Scott and his staff

appeared in full uniform, the bands struck up "Hail Columbia." It was a gala occasion, and the White House grounds, with Arlington Heights in the background, made an attractive and beautiful setting for the event.

In the meantime, the President had reviewed several units of troops, had heard a German brass band, the drum corps of the Ninth New York Regiment, and the trumpeters of the picturesque Garibaldi Guards, and had attended a concert at the Navy Yard.

May 9, 1861, was a perfect spring day, and the affair at the Navy Yard was quite to Lincoln's liking. Arriving there at three o'clock in the afternoon to the accompaniment of a thirty-four gun salute, the President, Mrs. Lincoln, and several Cabinet officers and their families entered the flag-decorated concert hall, where some two or three hundred people had gathered.

The concert was given by Dodworth's famous band and Harrison Millard (currently a private, but also a concert singer and composer) directed and also sang. To the delight of everyone present, including the President, the following program was given:

1. Quickstep, "Thou art far away" ..... Millard  
Dodworth's Band
2. Song, "Yes! let me like a soldier fall" ..... Wallace  
Mr. Millard
3. Quartet, "Come where my love lies dreaming" ..... Foster  
Glee Club
4. Song, "The Monks of Old" ..... Glover  
Mr. Camp
5. Finale of "La Traviata" ..... Verdi  
Dodworth's Band
6. New National Ode, "The flag of the free" ..... Millard  
Mr. Millard and Chorus
7. Trio, "Love's young dream" ..... Moore  
Millard, Woodruff, and Camp
8. Fantasie on "Un Ballo in Maschera" ..... Verdi  
Dodworth's Band
9. Miserere from "Il Trovatore" ..... Verdi  
Mr. Millard, H. Dodworth and Chorus
10. Duetto, "I would that my love" ..... Mendelssohn  
Dodworth's Band
11. Patriotic Song, "Viva l'America" ..... Millard  
Mr. Millard
12. Full Chorus, "Star Spangled Banner" ..... Key

It was a lengthy program. The band did an especially fine performance of Millard's "Thou art far away." Camp's singing of "The Monks of Old" brought much applause as did Millard's singing of his own composition

"Viva l'America." But the President wanted more, and he made a request for one of his favorites, the "Marseilles." Millard was generous—he sang the first verse and then repeated it.

Then, after observing some cannon practice (in which he showed great interest) the President reviewed the 71st New York Regiment and about six o'clock, as the band played "Hail to the Chief," left in his carriage.

The parade on July 4, 1861, drew an unusually large crowd. Some 20,000 or more troops were in line. At the White House a reviewing stand had been erected, the Twelfth New York Regiment stood as honor guard, and about nine o'clock the President, Cabinet, and General Scott and his staff appeared. The crowd and the soldiers cheered, drums rolled, and a band struck up "Hail to the Chief." The troops marched by, a lady slipped through the guards, reached up to shake the President's hand, and then disappeared in the crowd. The Garibaldi men, "heavy-bearded and banditti-featured fellows" tossed flowers and evergreen toward the President's stand, and the bands played—Dodworth's, a silver cornet band, the brass band of the Highlanders (playing the "Highland March"), and others.

It was, as one reporter noted, a "grand and imposing sight," and the people were thrilled and exultant. But the President, observed another, was pale, sad, and silent—perhaps, with foreboding, he was thinking of what it all really meant.

What did it all mean? The country would soon know—Bull Run was but a few days ahead, then the long winter and McClellan's failure before Richmond, Second Bull Run and Antietam, the discouraging winter of '62-'63; there would be parades but none so gay, there would be reviews, but most of them at the front, there would be patriotic gatherings, but more serious, sober, and determined; Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Petersburg, and Richmond; gradually the people—and the music—would become more hopeful and confident. So, too, would the President, but his countenance would become sadder and the lines of his face deeper.

By the summer of 1862 more men were necessary—many more; in July the President called for 300,000 volunteers to serve for three years; in August he ordered a draft of 300,000 more for nine months. To arouse new enthusiasm a "Great War Meeting" was held at the Capitol on August 6. Business houses were closed, government employees were dismissed at one o'clock and paraded to the Capitol, accompanied by a band. At four o'clock a thirty-four gun salute was fired, bells were rung, and a huge crowd gathered. There were resolutions in support of the draft, the Confiscation Act, and a vigorous prosecution of the war. Several prominent men made speeches, the President included, the Marine Band played, and when darkness came there were fireworks. The program lasted nearly six hours.

The following day the *Washington Evening Star* published the words of a new song:

We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more,  
From Mississippi's winding stream and from New England's shore;  
We leave our ploughs and workshops, our wives and children dear,  
With hearts too full for utterance, with but a silent tear;  
We dare not look behind us, but steadfastly before—  
We are coming Father Abraham—three hundred thousand more!

The song caught on and was sung all over the country. Lincoln heard it at the White House on several occasions. One morning while coming downstairs he listened with bowed head while it was sung. Another time in his office, surrounded by his secretaries, several senators, and army officers, the routine stopped while James S. Gibbons sang it with his heart "in his words and voice." Again, when a group of city officials from Baltimore called, one of the delegation, upon being requested to sing, obliged with this same song. The President remarked that the song "contained an excellent sentiment, and was sung in a manner worthy of the sentiment."

Soon after this stirring song was written, another appeared. George F. Root, composer of many war songs, heard of Lincoln's call for troops one afternoon in August, 1862. His mind started working, and the next morning he wrote:

Yes, we'll rally round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom!

Lincoln heard "The Battle Cry of Freedom" under somewhat unusual circumstances on two different occasions. One Saturday in October, 1863, he made a tour of the Government Printing Office. He observed the various processes going on in the machine shop, the pressroom, the drying room, and asked many questions, for he was much interested in things mechanical. The tour ended in the composing room where 125 pretty girls were assembled. Here the President was presented with two bouquets, was cheered, and was asked for a speech. Declining to give a speech, he thanked the group for the pleasant reception. The assembled employees then sang "The Battle Cry of Freedom." It had been an altogether pleasant afternoon.

Another time the President and Tad Lincoln were at Grover's Theatre to see a "spectacular extravaganza," "The Seven Sisters," which Tad had attended before and wished his father to see. It was light and colorful and the careworn President was enjoying it—his features were relaxed, he smiled and laughed. The last tableau was to take place, with John McDonough singing the solo "Rally Round the Flag" and the soldiers and other characters joining in the chorus, when onto the stage walked Tad Lincoln, dressed in a too-large army blouse and cap, to take a place in the front line of the actors. McDonough gave Tad a flag, which the boy waved

vigorously as the actor sang on. When he had finished, he sang again, this time using words from *two* songs:

We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more,  
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom,  
We will rally 'round the flag boys, rally once again,  
Shouting the battle cry of freedom.

McDonough sang another stanza, and yet another, helping Tad wave his flag. The audience, finally realizing that the boy was the President's son, rose and joined in the chorus, as a wave of patriotic enthusiasm spread through the theatre:

We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more,  
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom. . . .

At the end of the great refrain, a soldier led the whole assembly in three cheers for "Father Abraham and his boy." It was a thrilling experience for the audience and for the President.

In contrast, the President was deeply hurt and much distressed by the way in which antagonistic newspapers misrepresented and distorted an incident that had occurred a few months earlier while he was visiting the army at Antietam. Early in the morning on October 1, 1862, Lincoln and a small group of friends left Washington by train for what proved to be a strenuous and exhausting trip. The party started out before breakfast and didn't arrive at Harpers Ferry until noon. For three days the President inspected campsites and reviewed troops, covering much territory on foot, on horseback, and in army wagons. He visited the sick and the wounded, including two generals, one of whom was on his deathbed. He saw the battlefield with its grisly reminders of what had happened. He was melancholy and sad, serious and distracted; he had many things on his mind.

While riding from McClellan's headquarters to review more troops on the third afternoon Lincoln asked Ward Lamon to sing a little sad song. Lamon had often sung for Lincoln, and he readily consented. Then, seeing that the President was more dejected, Lamon, as he had done many a time, broke into a comic nonsense song in an effort to cheer the President up.

That was all; the review was completed, the visit ended, and the party returned to Washington. Although the *Evening Star* reported that the President seemed in excellent health and spirits, an observer in church the next morning was struck by the pathos of sadness in Lincoln's features.

But scurrilous newspapers seized upon the incident and spread a story that Lincoln, while going over the battlefield in sight of the bodies of the

dead, had asked a companion to sing a comic song. The story, with variations, was repeated many times. A newspaper in Lincoln's home town, in noting Lincoln's visit to Gettysburg on November 18-19, 1863, devoted most of its report to this story. The *New York World* printed several variations of it.

In September, 1864, Lamon, incensed by the tale, wanted to refute it in print. Lincoln calmed him down and no denial was published, Lincoln saying to his friend:

No, Hill [Ward Hill Lamon]; there has already been too much said about this falsehood. Let the thing alone. If I have not established character enough to give the lie to this charge, I can only say that I am mistaken in my own estimate of myself. In politics, every man must skin his own skunk. These fellows are welcome to the hide of this one. Its body has already given forth its unsavory odor!

The winter of '62-'63 was a long and bitter one for the North and for the President. Burnside had failed ignominiously at Fredericksburg and had been "relieved" after his "mud-march" in January; Hooker was in command. Army morale was rumored to be low, and many were absent from the ranks. As spring approached Lincoln, anxious and concerned, made another of his visits to the army. Early in April, in a snowstorm, he and Mrs. Lincoln and Tad with several others left Washington for the front. Arriving at Hooker's headquarters at Falmouth on April 5, the guests were serenaded that evening by the bands of the Thirty-third Massachusetts Regiment and the Sixth New York Cavalry. Then, for several days, Lincoln inspected camps, visited the sick, and reviewed troops. Seated on horseback, clothed in a dark coat and fur muffler, with a cold wind blowing and a decided chill in the air, for several hours each day Lincoln observed the thousands of men as they passed in review. Noah Brooks, who was in the President's party, wrote:

It was a grand sight to look upon, this immense body of cavalry, with banners waving, music crashing, and horses prancing, as the vast column came winding like a huge serpent over the hills past the reviewing party, and then stretching far away out of sight. . . .

. . . the President, who loved military music, was warm in his praise of the performances of the bands of the Eleventh Corps, under General Howard, and the Twelfth, under General Slocum. In these two corps the greater portion of the music was furnished by drums, trumpets and fifes, and with most stirring and thrilling effect. In the division commanded by General Schurz was a magnificent array of drums and trumpets. . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ward H. Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*, ed. Dorothy Lamon (Chicago, 1895), p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1895), pp. 48, 51.



When the President made a brief return visit a month later there were no reviews or crashing music, for the Army of the Potomac had suffered another defeat—Chancellorsville.

The Hall of the House of Representatives was the scene of many patriotic meetings. Crowds came to hear somber sermons, rousing speeches, dignified addresses, and accounts of army experiences, and to be stirred and thrilled by the patriotic music that was a regular part of such programs. Lincoln attended a number of these gatherings, and at two of them he was deeply affected and stirred not by the speeches, but by the music.

The second anniversary meeting of the Christian Commission, February 2, 1864, had already begun when the President entered. The audience rose and applauded, interrupting the remarks of the Chairman of the Commission. Then the program continued—reports, speeches, a collection, music by the band. Charles C. McCabe, a Methodist chaplain recently released from Libby prison, made a brief address, and when he had finished he and a companion, Colonel Powell, sang

Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory of the Coming of the Lord—

The audience arose, carried away by the effectiveness of the singing, and everyone joined in the chorus:

Glory, glory, hallelujah!  
Glory, glory, hallelujah!

At two o'clock the next morning the chaplain wrote to his wife:

When we came to the chorus the audience rose. Oh! how they sang! I happened to strike exactly the right key and the band helped us. I kept time for them with my hand and the mighty audience sang in exact time. Some shouted out loud at the last verse, and above all the uproar Mr. Lincoln's voice was heard: "Sing it again!"<sup>5</sup>

And before the meeting ended, it was sung again. Many stopped on the way out to shake the President's hand. Later that month the chaplain went to a reception at the White House. Lincoln recognized him, complimented him for the singing, and said: "Take it all in all, the song and the singing, that was the best I ever heard."<sup>6</sup>

A year later the third anniversary meeting of the Commission was held with Lincoln again present. The program was a long one, lasting from seven o'clock until nearly midnight; it included a Scripture reading, a prayer, introductory remarks by the chairman and general statement by

<sup>5</sup> Frank Milton Bristol, *The Life of Chaplain McCabe, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, Chicago, Toronto, 1908), p. 199.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

the head of the Christian Commission, a collection, and six addresses; in addition there were seven musical selections (an anthem, "America," a war song, two solos, the "Hallelujah Chorus," and the Doxology). The seventh number on the program was listed as

SINGING—"Your Mission"—By Mr. Philip Phillips of Cincinnati.

This, of all the musical selections that evening, was the one which struck a responsive chord in the President.

If you cannot on the ocean  
Sail among the swiftest fleet,  
Rocking on the highest billows,  
Laughing at the storms you meet;  
You can stand among the sailors,  
Anchor'd yet within the bay,  
You can lend a hand to help them,  
As they launch their boats away.

Do not, then, stand idly waiting  
For some greater work to do;  
Fortune is a lazy goddess,  
She will never come to you.  
Go and toil in any vineyard,  
Do not fear to do or dare;  
If you want a field of labour,  
You can find it anywhere.

So moved was Lincoln by the song that, on its conclusion, he wrote a brief message on the back of a program:

Near the close let us have "Your Mission" repeated by  
Mr. Philips. Don't say I called for it

Lincoln<sup>7</sup>

The request was granted; Mr. Phillips repeated the song "between 11 & 12 o'clock P.M." It was fitting that at the final anniversary meeting a year later the presiding officer referred to this incident just before a musical number: "Philip Phillips—"Your Mission.""

At the White House, except during the year 1862, there was much music, most of it band music. During the winter months there were the receptions or levees on Tuesday evenings at which the Marine Band "discoursed music," patriotic and popular. Then on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons from May or June until well into the fall months the Marine Band

<sup>7</sup> Lincoln, *Works*, VIII, 245-46.

usually gave concerts on the White House grounds, and occasionally there were additional concerts by other bands. State dinners took place with the music of the Marine Band in the background, and on many an evening the air was filled with music from the bands accompanying the serenaders who came to the White House in great numbers.

The first White House reception, on March 8, 1861, attracted a large crowd. From eight o'clock until ten-thirty the President and Mrs. Lincoln greeted the guests, who filled the rooms to overflowing. Then, with the Marine Band striking up a march tune (Mrs. Grimsley, a cousin of Mrs. Lincoln, recalled that on this occasion it was "Yankee Doodle"), the President and Mrs. Grimsley led the march around the East Room, and the President's party made its exit. The guests struggled for their hats and coats and went home.

There were to be many more such levees, all somewhat similar—great crowds of people to be greeted, music by the Marine Band, the "grand march," the confusion of departing visitors—the President with a swollen right hand, exhilarated perhaps, but often exhausted. In addition, Mrs. Lincoln held informal receptions, and there were extra receptions each New Year's Day, even more strenuous, as the hours were longer and the crowds greater.

Obviously, the President could neither hear, nor enjoy, the music so faithfully provided by the Marine Band at these receptions, but when spring came and the musicians gathered on the White House grounds once or twice a week, he could, and did, whenever he had the opportunity, come out and really obtain some respite from duty. While Dodworth's famous band was giving the first concert of the season, April 27, 1861, the entire family, including Willie and Tad, with Union badges on their jackets, came out and stayed for the whole performance. At the second concert a few days later, the President came out, greeted the crowd (not many could hear him, however, as a strong wind was blowing), and then retired to the strains of "Hail Columbia." During the third concert he and Carl Schurz sat out on the balcony listening to the music. After the concert when they went inside for tea, there was more music—Schurz played the piano.

Relaxing days like these would not come very frequently. On Saturday, May 25, 1861, there was no concert; instead there was a funeral, that of Elmer Ellsworth, close friend of the Lincoln family. The service was held at the White House, and in the procession to the railroad station marched the band Lincoln had heard earlier—Dodworth's.

Two weeks later the White House had an influx of unexpected guests. The band concert was under way when a shower descended; to escape the torrent many went into the lower floor of the White House, and were then invited upstairs where they remained in the East Room till the shower stopped.

Sometimes the President was not able to enjoy the band concerts undisturbed, for the people occasionally asked for a speech. On May 7, 1864 this happened. Lincoln proposed, instead, that they all join in three cheers for General Grant and his men (then battering their way through the Wilderness). The crowd responded with the cheers, and the President was then able to listen and relax. On another occasion when he stepped out to listen, and the demand for a speech went up, he bowed, went inside and lay down on a couch saying, "I wish they would let me sit out there quietly, and enjoy the music."<sup>8</sup>

Of the numerous state dinners held at the White House, that on Saturday, August 3, 1861, was noteworthy. The afternoon was warm as a hot spell had been building up (the next day the temperature reached 94 degrees and the following day approached 100 degrees), and the President was sitting in an upstairs room reading and listening to the band concert outside. Shortly before seven o'clock a servant appeared and in a very few moments Lincoln was dressed; at seven o'clock, he appeared on the portico with his guests in time for the final number of the Marine Band. When the party returned inside, the band members hurried around to their station, and as the company left the reception room to enter the dining room, were ready to strike up "Partant pour la Syrie."

The party, numbering over thirty persons, was made up of Cabinet members, assorted diplomats and military officers, and the guest of honor, Prince Napoleon. The Prince wore a striking uniform bedecked with medals and a crimson scarf, and was followed by his entourage. The table was artistically decorated, the ladies wore their finest, and the dinner was altogether pleasant. The band played national airs of France and national airs of America. An English correspondent thought it amusing that the band played the "Marseilles" twice, inasmuch as the piece was not exactly popular during the Empire period, but the Prince took it in good humor, saying "Mais, oui, je suis Républicain—en Amérique."<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. Lincoln, hoping to reduce the number of formal state functions, planned an elaborate reception with refreshments for the evening of February 5, 1862. Invitations were sent out and guests were advised to have their cards ready for presentation at the door. The weather turned fair that evening with a bright moon shining. As the guests—some five hundred—entered they were greeted by the President and Mrs. Lincoln who stood near the center of the room. There was no formal receiving line.

At eleven o'clock came the promenade. With the President and Senator Browning's daughter leading, the company moved toward the dining room

<sup>8</sup> Francis B. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln: The Story of a Picture* (New York, 1867), p. 143.

<sup>9</sup> Frederick W. Seward, *Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat, 1830-1915* (New York and London, 1916), p. 183.

where an elaborate spread, prepared by a New York caterer, was ready. A reporter commented: "The supper was, in many respects, the most superb affair of the kind ever seen here."<sup>10</sup> It was three o'clock in the morning before the last guests had left.

Although there was some criticism that the affair was too elaborate for wartime and too exclusive, friendly reports hailed it as a success. Senator Browning thought it a brilliant party, and the *Evening Star* concluded:

The entertainment, in the completeness of its arrangements, the distinguished character of the guests assembled, and the enjoyment afforded to those present by the avoidance (through the limit as to numbers) of the jam, heat and confusion of a crowd, will rank, we take it, as by far the most brilliant and successful affair of the kind ever experienced here.<sup>11</sup>

There was just one shadow over the event: Willie Lincoln lay seriously ill upstairs. For a time Mrs. Lincoln had considered postponing the party, but, having been advised by the family doctor that Willie was in no immediate danger, decided to go through with it. But she was worried and so was the President, and during the evening they both went to Willie's bedside several times.

Under the circumstances, trying to maintain a brave front before five hundred guests, neither of them was likely to give much attention to the musical program which was presented during the evening:

President's March	Scala
Overture	Massaniello
Quartette	Il Poliuto
Terzetto	Un Bal Maschero [ <i>sic</i> ]
Coro and Sestetto	Lucia di Lammermoor
Pot Pourri	Il Trovatore
Brindisi and Duetteno	from La Traviata
Coro and Terzetto	from Joan of Arc
Quartette and Tarentella	Il Vespere Siciliano
Mrs. Lincoln's Polka	Scala

This was the last musical program at the White House for many months, for Mrs. Lincoln's forebodings were correct. Willie Lincoln, beloved by all, passed away and the house was full of sorrow.

But life went on, the war went on, and eventually music was again heard at the Executive Mansion. A limited number of receptions took place in February and March, 1863, and the band concerts were renewed that summer in Lafayette Square. From January, 1864, until the end, a full schedule

<sup>10</sup> *Evening Star* (Washington), Feb. 6, 1862.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

of receptions, concerts, and other functions was maintained with the accustomed musical background.

Serenading was a habit in Washington. On slight excuse—or none—people would congregate, acquire a band and sometimes fireworks and even a cannon or two, and parade through the streets shouting and singing. Inevitably many such parades headed for the White House to serenade the President. Lincoln was pleased and gratified by the enthusiastic support of the serenaders, and he liked their music. But he was also embarrassed, because the crowds so often wanted a speech, and he had nothing in particular to say: “the hardest of all speeches I have to answer is a serenade. I never know what to say on these occasions.”<sup>12</sup> So he admitted to a group of serenaders one evening in June, 1864, after Mentor’s Brass Band had played “Hail to the Chief” and the “Soldier’s Chorus” (one of his favorites). Instead of a speech, he urged the serenaders to continue to support the soldiers in the field, and asked for three rousing cheers for General Grant and his men. The crowd obliged, giving the cheers for Grant and also three for Lincoln and Johnson, the band played several more selections, and the whole assemblage went off for more serenading elsewhere.

The President was also aware that whatever he said might be picked up by his critics, particularly after his remarks to the serenaders who had gathered in large numbers on the evening of July 7, 1863, to celebrate Gettysburg and Vicksburg. The band of the Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment played, the crowd cheered, and Lincoln appeared. Somewhat despondent that morning because of Meade’s failure to pursue Lee after Gettysburg, he was in a happier frame of mind that evening having had news of the fall of Vicksburg. He thanked Almighty God for the occasion of the visit and referred to the 4th of July and the Declaration of Independence, and concluded: “Having said this much, I will now take the music.”<sup>13</sup>

He took the music then, and also later. He had said, referring to Gettysburg, that the Confederates “‘turned tail’ and run.” Some Boston folk thought this improper, and the President was informed of their displeasure by Charles Sumner. He resolved to make no more impromptu speeches; if he had something to say on an important occasion thereafter, he had it prepared beforehand.

On the morning of April 10, 1865, the city of Washington was full of excited, joyful people. News of Lee’s surrender had come. Business establishments and government offices had ceased work. Cannon were booming, and throngs were parading the streets, shouting and singing. Soon the streets and grounds around the White House were filled. People cheered, bands played, and insistent calls were made for the President.

<sup>12</sup> Lincoln, *Works*, VII, 384.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 320



At length Lincoln appeared, looking and feeling much better than he had for a long time. He had returned only the night before from his two-week visit to the army. There he had conferred with Grant and Sherman, had inspected fortifications, had been to Petersburg and to Richmond itself. He had talked with Confederate leaders in Richmond, had told stories at the campfire, and had visited the sick and wounded in the hospitals at City Point.

At City Point a dance was held one evening on the "River Queen," but Lincoln and Grant talked quietly together all through it; Negroes working outside Richmond burst into a hymn of joy as Lincoln and Tad, Admiral Porter, and a handful of sailors walked the dusty road into the city. As the "River Queen" was being made ready for the return trip to Washington, a band came on board to serenade the President's party. Several selections were played, and Lincoln made a request for the "Marseilles." It was played, and then, at his suggestion, was played a second time. He had one more request—he asked the somewhat surprised bandsmen to play "Dixie." Soon after, the boat pulled away and headed for the Capital.

And now, on the morning after his return, he faced the exuberant crowd outside the White House. Anticipating a more formal demonstration later he declined to speak, saying "I shall have nothing to say [then] if you dribble it all out of me before."<sup>14</sup> He proposed that the interview be closed with the band playing one of the best tunes he had ever heard—"Dixie." The band complied, and for good measure added "Yankee Doodle." On the evening of the following day, with the sky illuminated by fireworks, cannon booming in the distance, bands playing their loudest, Lincoln again appeared. By candlelight he read, not a victory speech, but a speech in which he dwelt on the difficult problem still ahead.

Three evenings later the President and Mrs. Lincoln went to the theatre. They arrived late, and as they entered their box, the audience broke into applause and the orchestra struck up a tune. It was the piece that had been played at that first serenade outside Willard's Hotel, a little over four years ago—"Hail to the Chief." Since that time there had been four years of the music of war. But now the war was ended. The martial music could be put aside, and perhaps the tired President would have more opportunity of an evening to hear the music of peace, the songs that he had always loved—"Annie Laurie," "The Blue-Tailed Fly," "Rock of Ages," and his favorite of all, "Twenty Years Ago."

But it was not to be. The piece which was played at that first serenade four years ago, and was now being played by the orchestra in the theatre, on the evening of April 14, 1865, was the last.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 393.

# *Civil War History*

A quarterly journal of studies  
for all readers who know the  
Civil War as the most fasci-  
nating period of our history.

**PUBLISHED BY THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY, IOWA**

**FIVE DOLLARS A YEAR, ONE-FIFTY A COPY**

*Richard B. Harwell is a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of "Civil War History," a former editor of its column "The Continuing War," and the guest editor of the issue devoted to Robert E. Lee. He is executive secretary of the Association of College and Reference Libraries, and formerly served as librarian of Special Collections on Southern History at Emory and Duke Universities and at the Virginia State Library. Among his numerous publications on the Civil War is the monograph, Confederate Music, published by the University of North Carolina Press.*

## The Star Of the Bonnie Blue Flag

RICHARD B. HARWELL

THE SOMBER IMPERSONALITY that marks the crude wood-cut portrait of Harry Macarthy on the cover of the sole surviving copy of a program for his Personation Concerts belies the personality that must have sparked with the abundant diamonds of the foppish costume that was his trade mark. Composer, singer; producer, actor; Macarthy was the pride of the Confederate stage, the star of the Bonnie Blue Flag.

In the waning days of the Confederacy Macarthy fled the South (to the scornful delight of John Hill Hewitt, his principal rival as a Confederate tunesmith), but in the bright days of Southern hopes he was the darling of the Confederate theaters. His ability as an entertainer was heralded in all the principal Southern cities, and his songs delighted both parlor and campfire. Thrust into fame with his "The Bonnie Blue Flag," he plugged the tune till it rivalled "Dixie" as a Southern war song. As early as August 13, 1861 the New Orleans *Picayune* commented: "His song of the 'Bonnie Blue Flag, whose single star has grown into eleven,' is nightly encored, and, deservedly. In the first place, it is a good song, and, in the next, he sings it with infinite spirit and effect."

Macarthy was born in England in 1834 and came to America at the age of fifteen. By 1860 he had made something of a reputation in the provincial theatrical circuit of the South. His programs, in which he was assisted by his wife, Lottie Estelle, were billed as Personation Concerts. "Assisted" is the proper word. Lottie Estelle was not Macarthy's co-star but

an adjunct. Although she provided him time for costume changes with her dance numbers and accompaniment for him in duets, the Personation Concerts were essentially one-man shows. If Macarthy had ever played in New York, he had certainly established no reputation there. His appeal was to the unsophisticated audience. Perhaps his adoption of the sobriquet "The Arkansas Comedian" had some direct relation to his early and enthusiastic reception in that frontier state. The Fort Smith *Herald* wrote of him on August 11, 1860: "In his peculiar line—the delineation of comic characters and the singing of comic songs—he has no superiors. There is a freshness, an originality, and a hearty drollery in his style that never fails to bring down the house. The rich Irish brogue comes as trippingly from his lips as though it was his mother tongue, while his Dutch and Negro dialects are true to life. Mr. M. is quite a young man, and will no doubt make a brilliant figure in the dramatic world. We trust we may long have the pleasure of laughing at his jokes and applauding his songs."

The Little Rock *Daily Democrat* went all out in 1862, calling him "a good singer, an excellent dancer, a musician, and a genius." Its comment continued, "He enters fully into the spirit of all his characters with a vim that makes them real, and a humor that is irresistible. His songs, of which he has an endless store, and many of them written by himself, are replete with sentiment, pathos and drollery. His stories are told in a style that saves every point. His gestures are always rounded and graceful. His tastes are natural, inoffensive and pleasing. He is certainly one of the best mimics and singers we have ever seen—success to him."

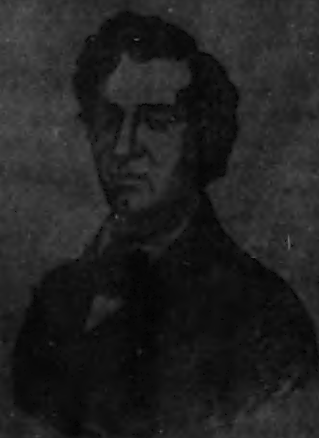
"The Bonnie Blue Flag" was written by Macarthy in the spring of 1861 and introduced into his performances during an engagement at Jackson, Mississippi. To this piece, so soon to blossom into a Confederate hit, the entertainer had contributed only its words, and its words are little more than drivel. But they were words that suited the temperament of states on their way to war and invited other states to join with them in this ultimate expression of state pride. As additional states seceded, additional enthusiasm marked the verses of "The Bonnie Blue Flag":

And now for Tennessee let another cheer be given,  
For the single star of the South has grown into eleven.

But there the growth stopped. There the printed versions of the song usually stop, but Harry Macarthy in his programs accepted, like the Confederate Congress, the Southern government of Missouri into his Confederacy, and sang:

And now to Missouri we extend both heart and hand  
And welcome her a sister of our Confederate band;  
Tho' surrounded by oppression no tyrant dare deter

HARRY MACARTHY'S  
PERSONATION CONCERTS.



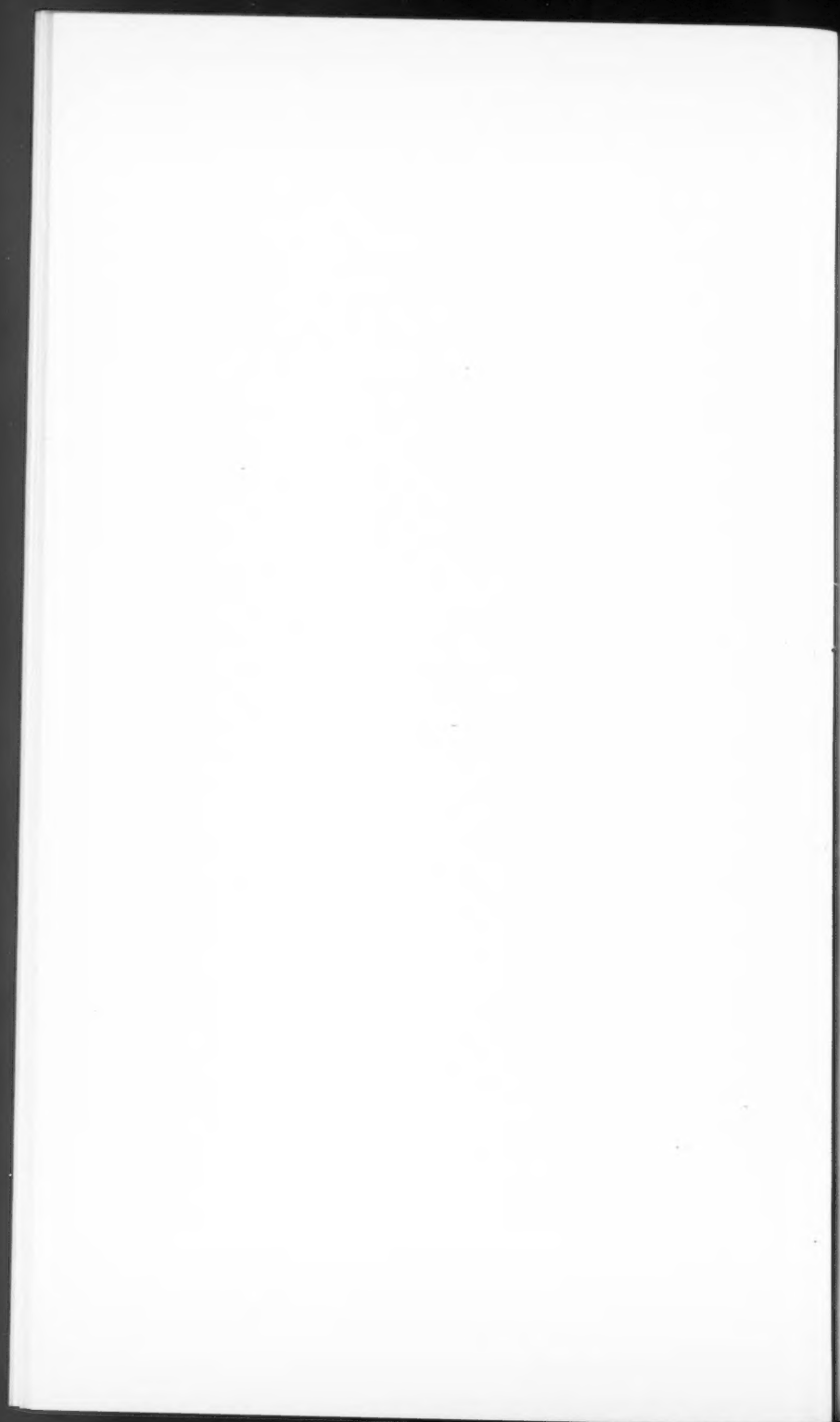
HARRY MACARTHY,

BOOK NO. 1.

(Copyright Secured.)

NEW YORK:  
PUBLISHED BY A. C. TOWSE & CO., 40 WEST 47TH ST.

Souvenir program of a Harry Macarthy performance. Reproduced from a copy in the University of Alabama Library.





Her adding to our Bonnie Blue Flag her bright and twelfth star.  
Hurrah! hurrah! for Southern Rights hurrah!  
Hurrah, for the Bonnie Blue Flag has gained her twelfth star.

By the end of the war "The Bonnie Blue Flag" had been issued in eleven editions by the Blackmar brothers in New Orleans or Augusta. The prolific New Orleans musician, Theodor von La Hache, had composed and published an "Improvisation" on it. It had been issued in Baltimore, Montreal, and London. And it had been imitated, using the same tune, in Robert F. Carlin's "Southern Constellation" published at Macon and Savannah, Georgia. It was more widely published (though certainly less widely known) in the Confederacy even than "Dixie."

A. E. Blackmar, the New Orleans publisher, is said to have been arrested and fined by General Ben Butler for the continued publication of "The Bonnie Blue Flag" during the occupation of the Louisiana city. Macarthy himself had been in New Orleans at the time of its capture. When he returned into Confederate lines for performances in July, 1862, his publicity capitalized on his experiences under Butler's rule. How much was simply publicity and how much actual experience, however, cannot be documented. "While held as a prisoner in New Orleans," declared the *Mobile Daily Tribune* on July 20, 1862, "Mr. Macarthy refused to play to a Yankee audience, though ordered at one time to do so by the Provost Marshal of Butler. His famous Bonny Blue Flag was, however, travestied, and the author closely watched and annoyed by the Yankees, as a punishment for his refusal to appear at the Academy of Music. Succeeding in running the blockade, the bold vocalist will now have a chance to stir again the popular pulse by singing his own songs with his peculiar *vim*. Our people should give him a right royal welcome in the shape of a crowded audience. We understand that among other things, he will rehearse some of his own adventures during his compulsory stay in the Crescent City."

In the summer and fall of 1862 Macarthy played in Mobile and Little Rock. By the late fall he was at Richmond's Broad Street Theatre delighting the motley crew of soldiers on leave, political hangers-on, speculators, whores, and confidence men who—to the dismay of the reserved old city that had suddenly found itself the capital of a new and warring nation—made up its audiences. He remained in Richmond well into 1863. Late in that year he and Lottie Estelle were performing at Wilmington, North Carolina. Then, in 1864, another, shorter engagement at Richmond; next at Petersburg; and next: Philadelphia. Harry Macarthy had skedaddled.

A full record of a Macarthy Personation Concert is preserved in the souvenir program printed for his performances in Mobile in 1862. The show opened with a one-man skit, "Arrival of the Emigrant[!] Ship," giv-

ing Macarthy an opportunity to indulge in "English, Irish and American Dialogue" and to sing the song of Alabamian George Jemison, "Trust to Luck," "With additional verses written by Harry Macarthy." (Jemison's song was published in Mobile as "Trust to Luck Alabama; a patriotic song; written by G. W. Jamison [!].") Next was a Yorkshire song, "Gee Whoa Dobbin." There followed a long medley of thirty different airs including snatches of such favorites of the day as "Jim Crack Corn," "Camptown Races," "Carry Me Back to Old Virginia," "Rosa Lee," "Louisiana Girls" (i.e., "Buffalo Girls"), "Off to Charleston," "Jordan Is a Hard Road To Travel," "Old Dog Tray," "Few Days," "Land of Canaan," and "Dixie." The first part of the show concluded with a "Yankee Dance" by Lottie Estelle.

"A Dutch Medley" (another chance for dialect) opened the second part of the performance. Then the Macarthy specialty, "The Bonnie Blue Flag," with the performer in the uniform of a Confederate sailor. Lottie Estelle followed with her single vocal solo, "My Johnny Was a Shoemaker," and then joined Macarthy in an Irish duet. The second part finished with Macarthy singing Samuel Lover's "Widow Machree" and then doing an Irish jig.

Coon songs—the white tunesters' imitations of the old Negro songs—gave Macarthy a chance at blackface entertainment and still more dialect in the final portion of the program. First came the "Happy Land of Canaan," with banjo accompaniment and topical variations on the words by Macarthy:

Abe Lincoln's fond of fun, and the joke is well begun,  
For his soldiers all around him am a running, ha! ha!  
At the battle of Manassas, they wished for horses like Pegasus,  
For to ride from this Happy Land of Canaan.

"Let Her Rip," one of Macarthy's own songs, followed next. And the regular program for the evening concluded with a song and dance, "Old Bob Ridley."

Macarthy was an entertainer. His shows were for the moment. They had no pretensions to dramatic value, but they filled a need for mass entertainment comparable to that more recently filled by radio and television. He had little success beyond his halcyon days before Confederate audiences eager for any sort of a show. Even his most famous song is inferior—except that it was the right song at a particular moment. His other Confederate songs—"Missouri! or, A Voice from the South," "Origin of the Stars and Bars," and "The Volunteer, or, It Is My Country's Call"—have even less to recommend them. He was not a poet to compare with Henry Timrod, Paul Hamilton Hayre, James Ryder Randall, or a host of other Confederates. He was not a musician to compare even with the hack

work of John Hill Hewitt, Theodor von La Hache, or Charles Chaky de Nordendorff. But he was an effective and proficient entertainer. Hewitt was probably close to an accurate summation when he wrote of Macarthy:

A young Irishman named Harry MacCarthy[!], a good vocalist as well as a protean actor, became the enthusiastic friend of the Southern cause (though he dodged the conscription act, and obtained papers showing that he was a loyal subject of Queen Victoria), and gave to the patriotics several wishy-washy songs which became extremely popular for the reason that he was continually singing them at his public entertainments. . . . There was very little originality in them and they were of the clap-trap order.

Hewitt's position was doubtless prejudiced. He was himself a West Pointer, though too old for active duty in the Civil War. He would have resented what he regarded as draft-dodging in Macarthy. And as a theatrical producer and song writer himself, he would have resented the success of the inferior work of his rival. His judgment is at least tentatively confirmed by MacCarthy's lack of success after he left the South. Although he continued his career as an active performer in the North and West, it was without mark. He died in Oakland, California, in 1888.

Perhaps MacCarthy had saved himself from the draft when he went north late in the war. Perhaps he found a healthy diet in Philadelphia preferable to the starvation fare of Richmond. But as an actor he most surely missed the acclaim that had followed him in the Confederacy as the author of "The Bonnie Blue Flag" and the glamour that had surrounded him as the South's premier entertainer. If he ever saw them (for they were published only in an Augusta newspaper late in the war) the doggerel jibes of his rival Hewitt must surely have rankled. Hewitt wrote:

Harry MacCarthy, who claims to be the "National poet of the South," is said to be figuring at Philadelphia. As he has announced himself the author of other men's productions, he might as well place the following in his stereotyped programme.—CHIPS

I've just come out from Dixie Land,  
Where rebels flocked to hear  
The humbug songs I used to sing  
About the "Volunteer,"  
The "Bonnie Blue Flag"—"Missouri," too,  
"Our Flag" and "Pretty Jane";  
But now—I think, I'll change my tune,  
And not go back again.  
Huzzah huzzah—I've dodged the shells of war,  
And Harry MacCarthy[!] has come off without a single scar!

They tried to put me in the ranks,  
But papers I display'd,  
That claimed me as an Englishman,  
For Queen Victoria made!  
And, though I stirred the rebels up,  
And sung my *native* lays,  
My object was to fill my purse  
By tickling them with praise.  
Huzzal huzzal etc.

I oft enacted Protean parts,  
And changed my outward man:  
The latest *change* that I have made—  
Beat that, sir, if you can.  
No longer now a "Southern band,"  
Your glories I will sing,  
So "Hail, Columbia, happy land!"  
May Lincoln reign your king!  
Huzzal huzzal etc.

*Professor Carpenter is a musicologist and composer presently teaching at the State Teachers College in Glassboro, New Jersey. Besides American music, his fields of interest embrace Spanish and Italian music of the Renaissance and English music of the Restoration period.*

## Salon Music in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

HOYLE CARPENTER

ABOUT MIDWAY BETWEEN what is generally known as "popular music" and that called "classic" is a category known as salon music. None of these types is sharply defined. Popular music merges into the salon type, which, in turn, blends into "classic" through an equally vaguely defined area. All three types were cultivated in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Stephen Foster's "If You Only Had A Moustache" is a good example of the popular type. Wyman's "Silvery Waves" is salon music *par excellence*. A Beethoven or Mendelssohn overture is representative of the classic type. While salon music is still published and available in most music stores, it is much less in vogue than a century ago.

What are the characteristics of this music? To begin with, it is not a native product such as "Dixie," even though many American composers contributed to its literature. Its very name suggests a French origin, although large numbers of German musicians have written in this genre.

Salon music is, above all else, elegant. It is polite, well-mannered, graceful. It is never vulgar or uncouth. It sometimes expresses lofty sentiments, as in "The Maiden's Prayer," but it is never profound. It may imitate nature ("Woodland Echoes") or it may take the form of refined dance music ("Secret Love Gavotte"). Perhaps the most typical of all is the set of variations on some well-known song or operatic air ("Listen To The Mocking Bird").

While this music makes but slight demands on the performer in the way of musical insight, the technical demands are often quite considerable. The variations by Henri Herz, for example, on "The Last Rose Of Summer" demand well-developed scale and arpeggio techniques both *brillante* and

*leggierissimo*. They demand good control of staccato. There is a long passage of rapid repeated notes and a glissando in double thirds.

Even in the nineteenth century this type of music was not without its critics.

Like the popular songs, they represent the average musical consciousness, but upon a lower plane in consequence of having no poetry to keep them in check. This music usually consists of a very simple and natural melody, set to the most elementary harmony, and brightened up with a few stock passages, arpeggios and the like, simple and easily to be executed by players of small attainment, but modeled upon passages in pieces by first-class writers. Of this kind may be mentioned the variation pieces of A. P. Wyman, Chas. Grobe, the operatic arrangements of James Bellak, and the variations of Thos. P. Ryder, Chas. D. Blake, and others. All of these men made money, and several of them received large sums which a poetic justice would rather have seen bestowed upon worthier efforts. Even these parasites upon poetic music have their uses. While they occasionally take up space which might be better occupied, they do, nevertheless, afford delight to many whose interest in music is so slight that nothing less easily assimilated would stand a chance of being received. . . . The older music of little difficulty was mainly of French origin, in the style of François Hunten [1793-1878; a once-fashionable composer now largely forgotten]. In this music the left hand had very little to do, but the melodies were delicate and refined, and although simple in its mechanical demands upon the player, it had a certain air and grace, not uncomely. This later popular music of America . . . has no grace, but what it lacks in this respect it makes up in pretension. Its sole aim is to sell, and to delude the purchaser into the idea that in playing it he is performing something worth while.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Mathews' judgment does seem to be overly harsh. There are degrees of quality in all art forms, whether pretentious or not. At least, in one respect, these composers are in good company. Composers before Beethoven wrote to sell, or at least on definite demand for specific occasions. The composer who wrote music merely to be performed or published was a phenomenon that arose only during the nineteenth century.

Mathews is certainly mistaken in his statement that all of this type of music is simple. A brief examination of a few pieces will show that often the case is the opposite. The best of it is, indeed, polite, refined, ornate, polished. It is the musical facet of the Victorian age. It is highly suitable for the attention of young ladies of refinement, and these pieces often bear dedications to these charming creatures (e.g., Wyman's "Silvery Waves," dedicated to the Ladies of the Washington Female Seminary).

There is extant a bound volume of sheet music that may be regarded as typical of this kind of music. Most of the pages are in good condition, but the half-leather binding shows evidence of much use. The front cover bears

<sup>1</sup> W. S. B. Mathews, asso. ed., *A Hundred Years of Music in America* (Chicago: G. L. Howe, 1889), pp. 102-3.



the initials *E. L.* stamped in gold, while the back is stamped, also in gold, *MUSIC*.<sup>2</sup>

The following is a catalogue of the contents:<sup>3</sup>

No.	Composer	Title	Publisher	Place and Date
1	Herz, Henri	The Last Rose of Summer, with an Introduction and Brilliant Variations	Oliver Ditson	Boston, 1848
2	Pease, Alfred H.	Delta Kappa Epsilon Grand March	John Church & Co.	Cincinnati, 1861
3	Muller, Julius S.	The Coming Step, Marche Sentimentale	J. L. Peters	Cincinnati, 1866
4	Mendelssohn	Mendelssohn's Wedding March	Oliver Ditson	Boston, after 1875
5	LeDuc, A.	La Chatelaine Valse	Lee & Walker	Philadelphia, between 1848-1876
6	Weber, Carl M. von	L'Invitation à la Valse	Oliver Ditson	Boston, after 1875
7	Archer, Joseph	Dozia Mazurka	S. T. Gordon	New York, between 1873-1885
8	Hoffman, Edward	Mélodie Grand Fantasia on the Popular Theme, the Mocking Bird	Lee & Walker	Philadelphia, 1864
9	Grobe, Charles	Les Bords du Hudson, Variations Brillantes par le Theme Favori "A Life on the Ocean Wave"	Lee & Walker	Philadelphia, 1846
10	Kéler Béla	On the Beautiful Rhine I Think of Thee	John L. Peters	New York, 1870
11	Slack, J. H.	Home Sweet Home Variations	Bollman & Schatzman	St. Louis, n.d.
12	Wyman, A. P.	Silvery Waves, Original Theme with Variations	S. Brainard & Co.	Cleveland, 1863

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the volume is unknown. It was given to the author by Professor Norman Goodbrod of Grinnell College, who says that it was given to him by a lady in Fremont, Nebraska. Mr. Goodbrod was kind enough to write to the lady to ascertain whether or not she could shed some light on the history of the book. She informed him that she had bought it at a "sale" in Fremont and the initials *E. L.* mean nothing to her.

<sup>3</sup> Definite dates are those giving the time of registration for copyright. In most cases, undated compositions can be placed within a span of a few years. The following data were used: a) the dates of the opening and closing of music companies listed on the title pages and of the use of certain forms of their names; b) the date of composition of pieces listed on the title pages; c) a date in an advertisement on the back of one piece; and d) the date of the first use of the term "cabinet organ" by the Mason & Hamlin Company.

13	Kaulbach	Mountain Peak, Mazurka Caprice	Geo. D. Newhall & Co.	Cincinnati, 1878
14	Hoffman, E.	Trinity Chimes, a Burlesque Military Fantasia	Wm. A. Pond & Co.	New York, 1864
15	Burton, C. C. (arr.) [Offenbach?]	Beauties of La Grande Duchesse Can Can Galop	J. J. Dobmeyer & Co.	Cincinnati, 1868
16	Rossini	Overture to William Tell	Oliver Ditson & Co.	Boston, c1874
17	Cramer, H. (arr.) [Balfé]	Bohemian Girl Potpourri	G. André & Co.	Philadelphia, after 1871
18	Grobe, Charles	"Tis the Last Rose of Summer," with Brilliant Variation	Lee & Walker	Philadelphia, 1856 or 1858
19	Baumbach, Adolph	Martha, Opera de Flotow	Root & Cady	Chicago, 1859
20	Oesten, Th.	Souvenir de Lucrezia Borgia	Oliver Ditson	Boston, between 1842-1857
21	Beyer, Ferd. [von Weber]	Der Freischutz	Oliver Ditson & Co.	Boston, between 1867-1875
22	Smith, Sydney [Auber]	Fra Diavolo	S. Brainard & Sons	Cleveland, before 1872 ——, after 1858
23	Leybach, J. [Bellini]	Fantaisie Brillante Sur des motifs de Norma		
24	Lefebure Wely	Cloches du Monastere	J. J. Dobmeyer & Co.	Cincinnati, 1867
25	Kinkel, C.	Serenade des Anges	S. Brainard & Co.	Cleveland, 1863
26	Grobe, Charles	The Tolling Bell Approaching Mount Vernon	Lee & Walker	Philadelphia, 1859
27	Funke, J.	Ecoutez-moi	J. L. Peters	New York, 1868
28	Schumann	Traumerei	Oliver Ditson & Co.	Boston, 1876
29	Jungmann, Albert	Little Romance Heimweh, melodie	" "	Boston, 1876
30	Smith, Sydney	La Harpe Eoli- enne, Reverie	Lee & Walker	Philadelphia, before 1877
31	Resch, Johann	"Secret Love," Gavotte	J. L. Peters	New York, 1873
32	Kinkel, C.	Mermaid's Song from Oberon Fantaisie	S. T. Gordon & Son	New York, 1875-1891
33	Badarzew- ska, T.	Maiden's Prayer	J. L. Peters	New York, 1867
34	Badarzew- ska, Thecla	Maiden's Thanksgiving Sequel to Maiden's Prayer [incomplete]	John Church, Jr. J. L. Peters & Bro.	Cincinnati, 1861-1876 Cincinnati, 1866

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH EDITION.

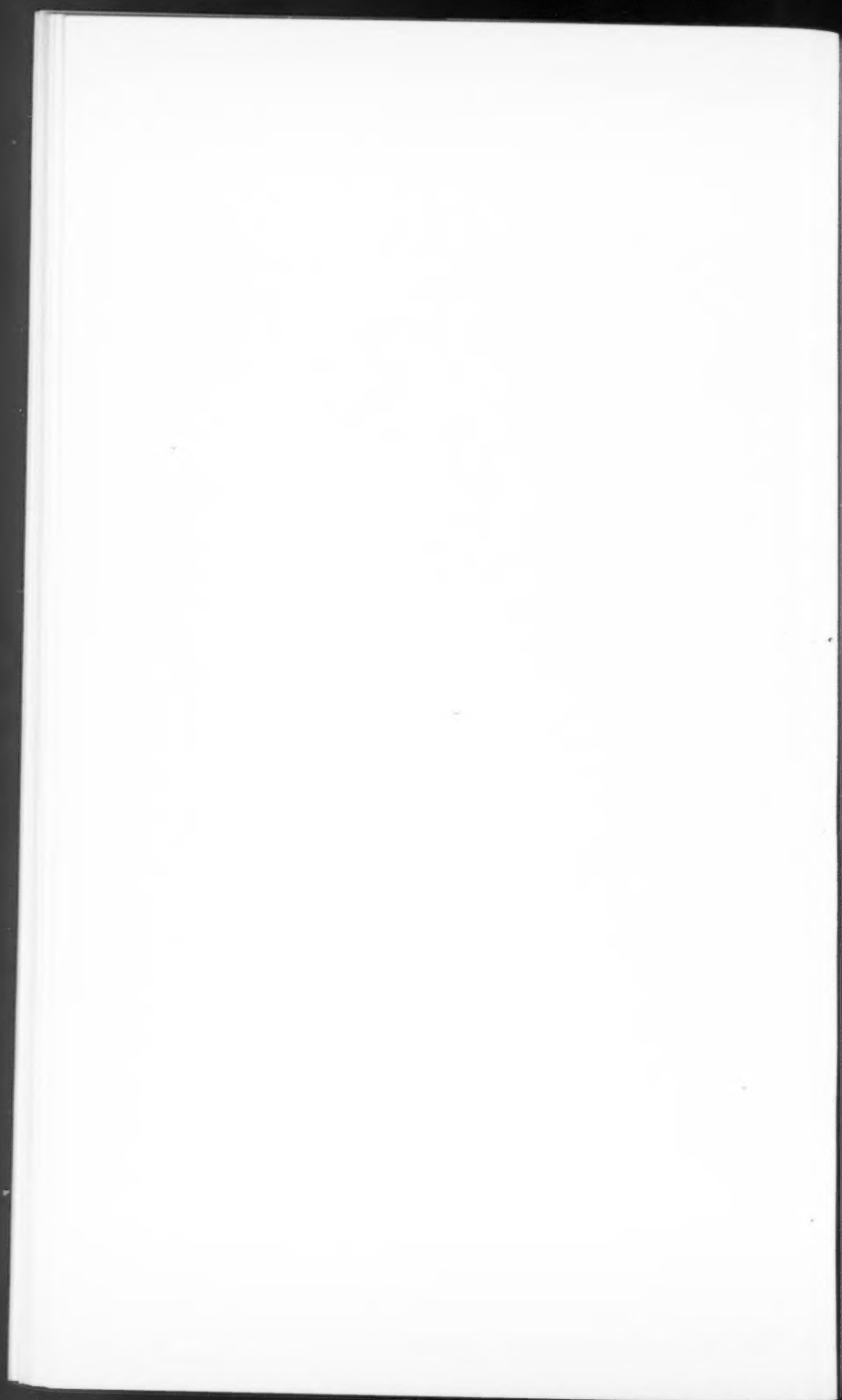
A Burlesque  
Military FANTASIA  
by  
E. Hoffman.  
Author of the very popular  
PARAPHRASE  
The Mocking Bird.

NEW YORK.  
PUBLISHED BY W. A. POND & CO. 547 BROADWAY.  
PHILADELPHIA.  
LEE & WALKER.  
CINCINNATI.  
C. Y. FONDA.  
MILWAUKEE.  
H. N. HEMPSTED.

BOSTON.  
O. DITSON & CO.  
CHICAGO.  
ROOT & SONS.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. NO PART OF THIS BOOK OR ANY OF THE CONTENTS HEREOF IS TO BE REPRODUCED IN ANY MANNER WITHOUT THE WRITTEN PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHERS.

Title page to E. Hoffman's "Trinity Chimes"



While the origin of the collection cannot be precisely determined, a midwest locale is suggested. Twelve out of the thirty-four publications are from midwestern sources, of which seven were published in Cincinnati. Furthermore, one piece bears the handstamp of a Cincinnati music dealer. While one piece bears no clue to its publication place, the remaining twenty-one come from the music publishing centers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, each the source of seven. That the majority of the pieces come from these eastern centers is not, in my opinion, a significant point, since leading publishers like Oliver Ditson may be presumed to have enjoyed a wider distribution of their products than those located in other parts of the country.

In contrast to the total lack of pieces from European publishers (excepting the possibility of the one without any designation), the majority of the numbers are by European composers. Of the twenty-eight composers in the collection, seventeen are European and two are American. The origin of nine has not been ascertained; even if all of these should turn out to be American-born, the balance would still be in favor of the Europeans. While this is, admittedly, a very small statistical sample, an examination of the many hundreds of titles and composers listed on the covers shows that a very large percentage come from European sources.

One of the favorite types of salon music is the *grand fantasia* or potpourri taken from the melodies of an opera. Usually, these are simply a chain of the better-known numbers without any attempt to achieve unity of design and, as often as not, without even unity of key. Occasionally an air is given variation treatment before passing on to the next selection. The weakest points invariably occur at the bridges between numbers where the composer or, more accurately, arranger, is on his own. These generally take the form of uninspired abrupt modulations from one key to another.

The form most used is, however, the theme and variations. The variations are always of an obvious type and are of the non-essential variety. Pieces not labeled variations, such as the "Maiden's Prayer," sometimes use this form. Another much used form is the song form and trio, both sections generally being tripartite.

Only one piece in this collection shows any trace of the development of thematic material. This is von Weber's "L'Invitation à la Valse." It is a borderline case of salon music by a composer of high standing in the realm of serious music.

The following is the distribution of forms used:

Theme and variation(s)	10
Song form and trio	9
Potpourri	7
Rondo	2

Song form with two trios	1
Tripartite	1
Series of dances	1
Bipartite	1
Collection of related parts	1
Collection of parts (program)	1
Rondo with development	1

Harmonically, the collection might be described as fairly complex for its period. Modulations are frequent. Several examples of the augmented sixth are to be found. The third relationship is frequent—indeed, too frequent, in a striving for rich colorful effect, sometimes used rather unskilfully. Harsh dissonances are not uncommon. Melodic chromaticism is very frequent.

An important characteristic is the almost complete lack of counterpoint. Melody and accompaniment is the rule. Occasionally the melody is in an interior part.

A relic of a past age found in many of the pieces is the use of the so-called English fingering. The fingering system in use today, known as "German," is also found in the collection, but is much less frequent. The German system uses the numerals 1 to 5, starting with the thumb. The English system uses x for the thumb and 1 to 4 for the remaining fingers. This situation must have been rather confusing.

Sometimes the cover designers exhibit a more vivid imagination than do the composers. One of the most elaborate covers in the collection is that of the "Mermaid's Song from Oberon," *Fantaisie* by Kinkel (actually, theme and variations). At the top of the page is the dedication to Mrs. Agnes Toof. Below this is the title in very ornate lettering. Occupying the center position is the picture of a mermaid. Facing inland, she is standing at the entrance of a cave at the seashore. The ocean is completely calm. The time of day must be dawn or sunset, since there are a few stars in the sky and the sun is just peeking over the horizon. The mermaid herself, of the proportions of a Wagnerian Rhinemaiden, is clad only in her long hair, a few flowers, and bits of seaweed. For some strange reason she seems to be pouring water from a shell into one of her ears.

Much more sedately clad is the young lady on the cover of "Maiden's Thanksgiving," the sequel to "Maiden's Prayer." Clothed in the height of fashion, she is kneeling in prayer. If the expression on her face is any criterion, she is only moderately pleased with the result.

Another elaborate cover is that of "The Tolling Bell Approaching Mt. Vernon." It is in two colors, black over an elaborate background of gray. The central position is taken up with a well-executed portrait of the Honorable Edward Everett. Beneath this is the following quotation: "The traveler steaming down the POTOMAC some miles below Washington is



startled by a bell tolling slowly. It is the signal of approach to Mount Vernon where the greatest of America's sons sleeps his last sleep." On page three, above the beginning of the music, is the verse:

Hark! Hark the bell is tolling!  
Through every patriot breast  
Emotions strong are rolling,  
Too deep to be repressed.

In such a setting one might reasonably expect Mr. Grobe's Opus 1090, "The Tolling Bell Approaching Mt. Vernon," to be, at the least, dignified. It starts off with an introduction in F minor, the choice of minor being, no doubt, an indication that this piece is mournful in character, whereas actually it is only pretentious. The principal melody of this piece (a rondo) follows in A flat major. Here are the bells that one expects. But they are far from being dirge-like. They are sweet, sugary, well-mannered bells, almost light-hearted bells. But wait! On page six the composer remembers that this is music of deep seriousness, and we return briefly to the mournful F minor. We know that the music is sad because it is marked "*con dolore*." However, the mood is short-lived, and we return to the little bells again after eight measures.

To say the least, the memory of George Washington is treated here in a light-hearted, almost flippant, manner. Mr. Mathews' criticism of this type of music is quite justified here. The piece could just as well be entitled something like "Tinkling at Eventide."

Another piece of Grobe's is even less appropriately titled. At least a common element, water, is involved. "Les Bords du Hudson" turns out to be Variations Brilliantes sur le Theme Favori, "A Life on the Ocean Wave." It must have been a popular piece: The copy in the collection is inscribed tenth edition. Directly under this inscription is this verse:

Oh river! Gentle as a wayward child  
I saw thee 'mid the moonlight hills at rest.  
Capricious thing, with thine own beauty wild,  
How didst thou still the throbbing of thy breast?  
(Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, to the Hudson River)

Turning the page, we find a rollicking set of variations quite appropriate to the tune but far removed from the mood suggested by the verse.

Some of the pieces, on the other hand, are not only well named but are executed with fine craftsmanship, including some by Mendelssohn, Schumann, Rossini, and Weber. A lesser but none the less worthy composer is the Hungarian Kéler Béla, whose "On the Beautiful Rhine Waltzes," introducing the "Loreley Lied," are not unworthy of a Johann Strauss.

Modest pieces such as "Ecoutez-moi" by J. Funke or "Heimweh" by Albert Jungmann, while too sentimental for present-day tastes, are, nevertheless, skilfully handled and melodious pieces.

More ambitious are pieces such as Sydney Smith's "La Harpe Eolienne" and A. P. Wyman's "Silvery Waves." These are hardy perennials that have found places on many a "recital" program. Both of these demand considerable skill if they are to be well played. The Smith composition now seems overly pretentious and bombastic, certainly too noisy for its title. "Silvery Waves," on the other hand, does keep within bounds.

The collection contains a number of sets of variations on well-known songs such as "Home Sweet Home," "'Tis the Last Rose of Summer," and "Listen to the Mocking Bird." The latter is coupled with "Auld Lang Syne," as it is in at least one other set of variations on the tune. The variations make use of stock figures based on arpeggios, scales, and repeated notes. A favorite device is the sustained trill and melody played with the same hand—a device not scorned by Beethoven.

From the point of view of the readers of this journal the most interesting piece would seem to be "Trinity Chimes, A Burlesque Military Fantasia," by E. Hoffman, "author of the very popular paraphrase 'The Mocking Bird.'"

The title page is the most elaborate in the whole collection. It represents the tower of Trinity Church with a jester in cap and bells ringing the chimes and is printed in blue and gold. This copy, from the 250th edition, was published by Wm. A. Pond and Company, who also published some of the best-known songs of Stephen Foster. The copyright date is 1864.

"Trinity Chimes," commemorative of an actual event in the early days of the Civil War—the departure of the crack New York Seventh Regiment for Washington—contains the following parts:

Introduction—chordal, ending with a cadenza—F major  
 Cannon and imitation of chimes in scale figures  
 Hail Columbia played by the chimes  
 Drum Corps of the Seventh Regiment  
 Hail Columbia (full military band)  
 The Girl I Left Behind Me (fife corps—drums)  
 Chimes (in the distance)  
 The Irishman's Shanty (reed band)—D minor  
 The Irishman's Shanty (piccolo)  
 The Yankee Volunteer  
 Variation (for the silver bugle)

The title refers to the hoisting in April, 1861—as war fever rose—of the Stars and Stripes above New York's Trinity Church. On these occasions

patriotic tunes, such as "Hail Columbia," were played on the church bells.<sup>4</sup> Included among the selections in Hoffman's fantasia are several that were sung or played as marches during the Seventh Regiment's long trek south, one that salutes the regiment's twelve-piece drum corps, and another, "The Irishman's Shanty," that commemorates "a small wooden shanty [in Philadelphia]—let us say an Irish palace"—where the arid troops quenched their thirst.<sup>5</sup> The section "The Yankee Volunteer" very likely refers to the Massachusetts regiments that had passed through New York on the way to Baltimore, as an account in the *New York Tribune* of May 4, 1861, tends to indicate.<sup>6</sup>

This collection of piano pieces is representative of an important element in the musical development of this country. There were great numbers of persons interested in "good" music who were not yet ready for the more solid fare awaiting them in the larger works of Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart—not that these works did not also have a large following. The many widely-sold instruction books on the market show that music study was widespread. The larger publishers had catalogues of impressive bulk, if not too much so in quality. Music publishing was big business.

Thanks to the ardent labors of the performers and teachers of a century ago, musical standards do seem higher today. Yet one cannot turn the pages of this music, redolent of a past age, without a feeling tinged with nostalgia.

<sup>4</sup> Described in the *Diary of George Templeton Strong* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), Vol. III, p. 124, and in the *New York Tribune* for April 20, 1861 (quoted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* [New York: G. P. Putnam, 1861], Vol. I, "Diary," p. 33).

<sup>5</sup> F. J. O'B., "The Seventh Regiment—How it got from New York to Washington," *New York Times* for May 4, 1861, as quoted in Moore, *op. cit.*, I, 149.

<sup>6</sup> Moore, *ibid.*, I, 63.

## *An Invitation To New Subscribers*

CIVIL WAR HISTORY IS NOW IN ITS FOURTH YEAR. Behind us lies a published record of over one thousand pages of analysis and reconstruction of the Civil War and 19th-century United States which was its background.

BATTLES, OVER-ALL STRATEGY, problems of supply and command, character-studies of its leaders, reconstruction of its outstanding figures, insights into the rank and file who carried its burdens; aspects of its political, economic, and sociological framework; sketches of the drama and humor which flourished with it . . . these studies and many more have filled our pages.

YET, THE MANUSCRIPTS WHICH CONTINUE to flow in are a certain reminder of how rich the field still to be explored and how manifold the aspects of this period in our national life.

IF YOU ARE NOT NOW a subscriber to *Civil War History*, you can receive it as a permanent addition to your library by filling out the blank below. (Subscriptions begin with the March issue of the current volume year.)

.....  
Please enter my subscription for a year of CIVIL WAR HISTORY, at \$5.00.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ Payment enclosed

☐ Please bill me

CIVIL WAR HISTORY  
LIBRARY, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY, IOWA

*Dr. Spell is widely known for her researches into the history of music in Mexico, Texas, and the American Southwest, and has been a contributor to numerous historical and musical journals and to the Encyclopedia Americana. With her husband, a professor at the University of Texas, Dr. Spell makes her home in Austin, Texas.*

## Music in Texas

LOTA M. SPELL

IN THE DECADE immediately preceding the Civil War Texas had made great advances musically. With a rapidly increasing population—Anglo-Americans (the majority from the Old South), Spaniards and Mexicans, Germans and French, Czechs and Swedes, and a sprinkling from the British Isles—the number of musicians and their level of attainment had risen considerably. In these varied groups scattered from the Sabine to the Colorado River were both resident and transient singers, and players on a variety of musical instruments.

These pioneer musicians were not slow in uniting both on a local and state basis in the furtherance of musical activities. Among these organizations the German singing societies through their concerts, particularly, played a leading role. At the seventh Sängerkfest in March, 1860, women participated in the first mixed chorus. Bands, organized in many communities for military and patriotic purposes, also furnished recreational music. In San Antonio and other Spanish-speaking communities a string orchestra was generally available for dancing, and the band played once or twice a week on the plaza or the Alameda, while the young people promenaded—men in one direction, women in the other. In the German towns, the band played regularly on Sundays at the beer garden.

In most of the churches vocal music had found a place, and congregational singing and choral groups were often accompanied by piano or organ. Most of the organs were of the "pump" variety, but a pipe organ had been installed in the Galveston Cathedral. While an antagonistic attitude toward music still lingered among some sects, especially on the frontier, the singing school and the camp meeting helped to break it down. From the singing schools open to both old and young had come the "Vocal Musical Convention" which utilized "singing books" with shaped notes. In East

Texas the attendance at such gatherings often ran into hundreds, and some of the singers and singing groups came from great distances, considering their means of transportation.

The theater, through its use of incidental music, had paved the way for better music. Some theatrical companies which came to Texas, especially to Galveston and Houston, made extensive use of both singers and orchestra. As was natural, such performers increased their earnings during the season by solo and group concerts, and some offered their services for the time as musical instructors. Occasionally one chose to remain, at least for a while. But not until the late fifties were complete operas given by companies from New Orleans and Mexico. In 1856 a German opera company had come from St. Louis by way of New Orleans; a French opera troupe from New Orleans followed; and in 1858 an Italian opera company from Mexico played at Brownsville, a town that had existed a little more than a decade.

Throughout the fifties, concerts, varying in type from those given at the German beer garden to those of the Tremont Concert Hall in Galveston, became more popular, and professional musicians, singly or in groups, began to find a trip to Texas remunerative. "Ballad soirees" and minstrel shows offered variety. The problems of transportation deprived both Austin and San Antonio of many of these advantages; in the inland towns more dependence had to be placed on local musicians.

There were also in Texas just before or at the opening of the Civil War a few musicians who fully deserved the name. Some were composers, others performers. Allyre Bureau had formerly been the musical director of the Odéon in Paris; at Reunion, the French settlement near Dallas, he composed songs still sung today.<sup>1</sup> Adolf Fuchs, a Mecklenburg pastor, at his home among the hills along the Colorado River set to music many poems of the German poets. Perhaps he should be best remembered as the inspiration for the *Texanische Lieder* of Hoffman von Fallersleben<sup>2</sup> and as the grandfather of the composer of "The Hills of Home," Oscar Fox. Gustav Fitze, at Waverly, wrote music that Oliver Ditson found worthy of publication in Boston; and F. W. Smith, a professor of music at Baylor College (before it was moved from Independence) wrote music interesting in that day. Madame Louise Rheinhardt, who reached Texas just as the war clouds gathered, had been a pupil of Mendelssohn and possessed a glorious voice. On Texas soil, at Fredericksburg, there was born in October, 1858, the first Texan who was to attain top rank among American musicians. This was Franz van der Stucken, later the director of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and of the Wagner and Gluck revivals in Antwerp.

<sup>1</sup> See the "Progressive Music Series," Vols. II and III.

<sup>2</sup> See Spell, *Music in Texas* (Austin, Texas, 1936) for further details.



The musical education of the children had not been neglected. The public schools in such towns as Galveston, New Braunfels, and San Antonio gave regular instruction in vocal music, and such instruction was also a part of the daily program of some of the private schools, as at Baylor College at Independence, where the president, Horace Clark, himself directed the music. Instrumental music, at least to the extent of the guitar and piano, was usually among the branches taught for an extra fee. Private teachers, both male and female, were available in most communities at prices reasonable for the time and place.

The existence of "Musical Depots" and "Emporiums," which handled many types of musical instruments, a wide range of music books, and a varied assortment of sheet music, were evidence of the importance of music commercially. Many pianos were imported for a ready market. Owners of such "Depots" sometimes expanded them to include a concert hall, as did also the "turn" schools, which often provided space for dances and concerts.

Before 1860 Texas essentially was a part of the Old South, despite many foreign elements and despite large groups of settlers from the northern states, including Mormons. The culture and traditions of the dominant class had largely been transplanted westward along the Gulf Coast, and it was the political philosophy of the South that determined the course Texas followed in endorsing, by a large majority, the Act of Secession early in 1861.

During that year musical progress was only slowly halted by the war. As recruits gathered and encamped, and then again moved away, enthusiastic songs enlivened camp existence, for all believed the struggle would be brief. The fall of Fort Sumter in April made martial and patriotic music the order of the day, and patriotic airs from the presses of New Orleans, Richmond, and Augusta found their way into Texas. Among them were Macarthy's "The Bonny Blue Flag," "Missouri," and "The Volunteer"; Blackmar's "The Southrons Chaunt of Defiance," Stanton's "Dixie War Song"; Alice Lane's "Stars of Our Banner"; George's "The Confederate Flag"; Glover's "The Southron's Watchword"; and "God will Defend the Right," by a lady of Richmond. The "Beauregard Manassas Quickstep" and "Beauregard's Grand March" were among the instrumental compositions imported. To these Edward Wharton contributed "The Southern Pleiades March and Quickstep," which was published by August Sachtleben of Galveston. The importation of pianos into Galveston kept pace with the diversity of sheet music, and a serenading band was organized there by Charles Hoffman, evidently with the expectation that the war would be speedily over.

But little by little the state was depleted of its manpower; men went to war or sought refuge in Mexico, as did many of the foreigners, who were

almost solidly opposed to slavery. As a result the singing societies, the bands, and the orchestras—entirely male organizations in those days—were soon discontinued. The Sängersfest planned for Austin in 1861 was cancelled.

With the beginning of 1862 concerts were again actively fostered, this time with a new purpose. There had been benefit performances before, both in the theaters and concert halls, to help individual performers financially; now their function was both patriotic and philanthropic. Amateurs and professionals joined hands; all who could (and some who couldn't) make music found an opportunity to contribute their talents. At first concerts were given in the various towns for the benefit of the families left behind by soldiers. In Galveston an organization known as the Confederate Minstrels gave concerts that helped to support Dr. Bryan's Hospital and also to assist the Rangers. The musical offerings were varied but usually were either of patriotic nature ("The Southern Marseillaise") or sentimental. In the latter class were "Carrie Bell" by La Hache; "Violetta," by Eaton; foreign songs, which had been reprinted, such as Kucken's "We Met by Chance" and "How Can I Leave Thee"; Mengis's "The Switzer's Farewell"; Abt's "When the Swallows Homeward Fly"; and old Scottish songs like "Annie Laurie," "Mary of Argyle," and "Bonnie Jean." The "Confederates' Grand March" by Hartwell appeared in its fourth edition during that year and reached Texas, together with a few foreign professional musicians, before Galveston fell into Union hands.

With the opening of 1863 the seriousness of the situation of the South was more generally felt. Some music stores closed; others sold out to bookstores, one of which published the *Lone Star Ballads*—ninety-five popular and sentimental songs—but without music. However, in spite of the more marked exodus of troops, music continued. Concerts were given in Houston for the benefit of both Hood's and Sibley's brigades and for the Terry Rangers; another contributed to the hospital fund. Professor Frenzel composed a new march in honor of General Magruder, commander of Confederate Trans-Mississippi troops. Concerts and tableaux in Rutersville provided further funds for the Rangers; Hallettsville raised over four hundred dollars for Young's regiment. Among the other concerts in Houston were programs that included orchestral music directed by Charles Otis and A. A. Aday, another in April for Baylor's Brigade, and one in May for the General Hospital. In June there were juvenile concerts; in October, an amateur program for the benefit of the Davis Guards; and, in November, the Star State Minstrels gave a benefit for the Soldier's Home. The establishment of a musical academy in Houston during the fall of that year is evidence that musical education was still being earnestly promoted.

With New Orleans as well as Galveston in Federal hands, sheet music and instruments no longer could be imported into Texas. Indeed, publica-

tion in the South had been more and more limited until Blackmar in Augusta was almost the only house left that continued to issue music. John H. Hewitt, whose songs were widely popular, maintained a music business there until 1863, when he, too, returned to Baltimore. Of the songs published during that year that found their way sooner or later into Texas were Hewitt's "The South"; Anna Ford's "The Prisoner's Lament"; Ilsley's "The Drummer Boy of Shiloh"; Mayer's "Keep the Powder Dry"; and one edition of "Maryland, My Maryland," with the music attributed to a lady of Baltimore. One publication from the house of George Dunn at Richmond entitled *Christmas and New Year Musical Souvenir* was made up of three songs: "Fairies have Broken Their Wings," the words by Thomas Hood; "The Lover's Wish," text by Rosier; and "I Know a Maiden Fair to See" by Longfellow, all set to music by "F. W. R[osier]."

The year 1864 saw music in Texas at low ebb. Concerts by Madame Rheinhardt and such benefit concerts as the five given in New Braunfels to aid destitute soldiers and their families were the only items of interest. While the privations and suffering experienced during the war throughout most of the Confederacy were never felt within the boundaries of the state, the mental anguish and worry of those years were known equally well to Texans, and, as an escape, people of all classes turned to music. Deprived of new music by the Union blockade, the people were thrown upon their own resources. As a result, some songs, as they passed from one social class to another, underwent interesting transformations of text as well as music. "Take Me Home to the Place Where I First Saw the Light" is a good example of such evolution. First published in New York in 1853, it became before the Civil War a "parlor" song in Texas homes where singing around the piano was an evening recreation. During the war years the song was a popular program number on benefit concerts. The catchy melody next appeared at the camp meeting with the text,

At the Cross, at the Cross,  
Where I laid my burdens down,

and later became a well-known gospel hymn. After it was heard and absorbed by the fringes of society in bars and disreputable haunts, the cowhand concocted his own version, which ran:

At the bar, at the bar  
Where I smoked my first cigar,  
And my nickels and my dimes rolled away;  
It was there by chance  
That I tore my Sunday pants,  
And now I can wear them every day.

Another group of songs typified the last flare of patriotic spirit before the war ended, among them "There's Life in the Old Land Yet," Macarthy's "Origin of the Stars and Bars," and Mordaunt's "Brave Boys are They." More important than these were the love songs or songs of home. "What is Home Without a Mother?"; "Childhood Hours are Fleeting By" (Eaton); "Let Me Kiss Him for His Mother" (Ordway); "Take Me Home to the Place"; and "Listen to the Mocking Bird." Among the love songs sung through the years that always awaken recollections of the life of the Old South, were "Bonnie Eloise" and Eaton's "Angel of Dreams," Webster's "Lorena" and the reply to it, Stephen Foster's "I See Her Still in My Dreams," Daly's "Dying Camille," Bucklet's "I am Dreaming Still of Thee," "Juanita" and "I'm Leaving Thee in Sorrow, Annie." Of the many songs popular in those days, only "Nellie Gray" is suggestive of slave life.

After the war, in spite of the depletion of manpower and the acute economic problems that confronted the returning soldiers, music revived in Texas. Music stores took on new life as shipments of pianos and scores reached the state, and children of promise, like Franz van der Stucken, were again sent abroad to be educated. Within the state's own borders, music was first revived by Texans with European backgrounds who for the most part had maintained their racial philosophies and economic patterns unbroken. The Spaniards, who had taken small part in the war, had never interrupted their love for simple music and dancing rhythms. The Germans reorganized their singing societies, and in 1869 was held the first postwar Sngerfest.

*Mrs. Epstein, a native of Wisconsin, has degrees in music and library science from the Universities of Chicago and Illinois. She has worked at the University of Illinois, the Newark Public Library, and the Music Cataloging Section of the Copyright Office. At present she lives in New Jersey with her husband and two children.*

## The Battle Cry of Freedom

DENA J. EPSTEIN

ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR the music trade of the United States was scattered through the country rather than concentrated in a few metropolitan centers. Every city of any considerable size had a music store that, if successful, usually did a little publishing. Directed primarily to the local market, these publications were most often works of local musicians or new editions of perennial favorites from the public domain. A publisher's catalogue of this time thus could reflect local interests and enthusiasms with some sensitivity. As feelings blazed higher with the approach of war, local interests merged with the national crisis, and music served as stimulation and relief, catharsis and escape. The songs of the nation were indeed a "mirror of its virtues as well as its shortcomings,"<sup>1</sup> and recounted in graphic detail the story of the war itself.

As the war progressed, a flood of war music streamed from the presses, an estimated 2000 titles during the first year, and "the subsequent rate of increase has been somewhat greater!"<sup>2</sup> The figure seems high, but it should help to explain why no one has yet attempted a complete listing of the Northern war songs. Songs in honor of the flag, a local hero, or an eminent officer were succeeded by emancipation songs and lyrics of home and mother. But the songs that have faded least through the years are the best of the marching songs. Long before the current Civil War boom, these

<sup>1</sup> "Our War Songs," *Musical Review and Musical World* (New York), XV (November, 1864), p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> Charles G. Leland, "War-Songs and Their Influence in History," *The United States Service Magazine*, I (January, 1864), p. 48.

songs continued to be popular through the Spanish-American War, World War I, and even World War II.<sup>3</sup>

Such songs as "The Battle Cry of Freedom," "Marching Through Georgia," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp," "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground," and "Dixie" have become part of our folk heritage, whistled and sung by people who have little idea of their origin or history. Many of these songs were written to help fight the war by men whose sympathies were wholeheartedly with the Union cause. And the songs were effective. The people sang in and out of the army, at home, in camp, at work, at play, marching and resting, at rallies in mighty choruses, and alone, one voice breaking the stillness and loneliness. As one writer put it, the more successful songs were "the white caps of popular feeling."<sup>4</sup>

A surprisingly high proportion of these songs originated in Chicago from the presses of the music publishers, Root & Cady. Between April 15, 1861, and the early months of 1866 the firm published some 109 titles that had a discernible connection with the war, not counting arrangements for guitar or simplified versions for teaching purposes. Of these, George Frederick Root wrote 28 and Henry Clay Work, 19.<sup>5</sup> Why Chicago should have been such a center for war music is a question still to be answered. But center it was, sending its songs throughout the country, even through the battle lines into the Confederacy.

When they were first heard in Chicago, the songs had a tremendous impact:

The ceaseless roll of the drum not only rallied the patriot by day, but reminded him of his duty a good part of the night—especially in the vicinity of the Court House Square, filled with recruiting tents. And, whenever a great victory was celebrated, or the wail of disaster was heard in the land, and it became urgent once again to fire the hearts of the home guard to added enlistments, the doors of Bryan Hall fronting the square were flung open, great crowds surged within, and while patriotic eloquence moved the assembled patriots to transports of enthusiasm, their united voices, vibrant with the emotions of the hour, preceded or followed each speaker with the "Star-Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," "The Battle Cry of Freedom," "John Brown's Body," or other stirring lyrics of the war.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Lehman Engel, "Songs of the American Wars," *Modern Music*, XIX (March-April, 1942), p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> *The Song Messenger of the North-West*, V (August, 1867), p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> This count was based on the Check-list of Plate Numbers in the author's "Music Publishing in Chicago Before 1871. Ch. 4. The Civil War Period," *Music Library Association Notes*, 2d ser., II (March, 1945), pp. 140-148. It is a rough estimate, depending on the wording of the titles.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick F. Cook, *Bygone Days in Chicago: Recollections of the "Garden City" of the Sixties* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), p. 2. See also: Alfred T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884-1886), II, pp. 484, 593; John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (Chicago: Fergus Printing Co., 1895), II, p. 760.



Against the background of this great surge of popular feeling, let us trace the history of one representative song, "The Battle Cry of Freedom."

Yes, we'll rally 'round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,  
We will rally from the hill-side, we'll gather from the plain,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

*Chorus:* The Union forever, Hurrah! boys, Hurrah!  
Down with the traitor, Up with the star;  
While we rally 'round the flag, boys, Rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

We are springing to the call of our Brothers gone before,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,  
And we'll fill the vacant ranks with a million freemen more,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom. (*Chorus*)

We will welcome to our numbers the loyal, true and brave,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,  
And altho' they may be poor, not a man shall be a slave,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom. (*Chorus*)

So we're springing to the call from the East and from the West,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,  
And we'll hurl the rebel crew from the land we love the best,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom. (*Chorus*)

The author of the words and music, George Frederick Root, was well-known when he settled in Chicago late in 1860, becoming a partner in the firm of Root & Cady, founded two years earlier by his brother, Ebenezer Towner Root, and Chauncey Marvin Cady. He had earned a national reputation as a music educator and a composer of teaching material, cantatas, hymns, and sentimental songs, all in the "genteel tradition." Eminently respectable and conventional, he was no abolitionist, but like most of the people around him, he was a sincere patriot who strongly opposed the dissolution of the Union.

On April 12, 1861, the bombardment of Fort Sumter heralded the beginning of war. While the news was still coming over the telegraph wires, George F. Root must have started writing his first war song, "The First Gun Is Fired! May God Protect the Right!" Three days later it was in print and had been deposited for copyright in the District Court for Northern Illinois.<sup>7</sup> In his autobiography, *The Story of a Musical Life* (Cincinnati: The John Church Co., 1891), he described his manner of work:

Then at every event, and in all the circumstances that followed, where I thought a song would be welcome, I wrote one. And here I found my fourteen years of extemporizing melodies on the blackboard, before classes that could

<sup>7</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 16, 1861, p. 4, col. 1.

be kept in order only by prompt and rapid movement, a great advantage. Such work as I could do at all I could do quickly. There was no waiting for a melody. Such as it was it came at once. . . . (p. 132)

The old school days must have been just below the surface of his mind as he wrote. In this moment of crisis, his inspiration seemed to come from the most ambitious work attempted by many of his singing classes and musical conventions, the last piece in the book—"The Heavens Are Telling," from Haydn's *Creation*. Simpler and less sophisticated, Root's song nevertheless is reminiscent of Haydn's chorus, not only in melody, but in the sequence of harmonies. More like a hymn than a call to arms, it was not a resounding success, but, until other better songs were written, "The First Gun Is Fired!" served its purpose. The *Chicago Tribune* for April 16, 1861 (p. 4, col. 1), reported its performance at a patriotic rally, and the issue for April 23 (p. 4, col. 3) told of a mass meeting in the Wigwag where the song was sung after 10,000 people had taken the oath of fealty.

In the months that followed George Root wrote "what I thought would then express the emotions of the soldiers or the people."<sup>8</sup> In addition, he encouraged many younger men who submitted songs to the firm for publication. One of them, a journeyman printer, Henry Clay Work, produced what became Root & Cady's first national hit, "Kingdom Coming," issued in late April, 1862. Four months later came the great rallying song of the war, "The Battle Cry of Freedom."

In his autobiography, Root gave the story of its composition and first performance which has been traditionally accepted by the anecdotists:

I heard of President Lincoln's second call for troops one afternoon while reclining on a lounge in my brother's house. Immediately a song started in my mind words and music together:

Yes, we'll rally round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

I thought it out that afternoon, and wrote it the next morning at the store. The ink was hardly dry when the Lumbard brothers . . . came in for something to sing at a war meeting that was to be holden immediately in the court-house square just opposite. They went through the new song once, and then hastened to the steps of the court-house, followed by a crowd that had gathered while the practice was going on. Then Jule's magnificent voice gave out the song, and Frank's trumpet tones led the refrain . . . and at the fourth verse a thousand voices were joining in the chorus. (pp. 132-133)

It is surprising that Root writing in 1891 did not clearly remember the details of his story. The meeting to which he referred was held on July

<sup>8</sup> George F. Root, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

26, 1862, while the song had been sung for the first time two days earlier at the Board of Trade War Meeting, according to the *Tribune* for July 25 (p. 4, col. 3): "Following the speech of Mr. [Isaac N.] Arnold was the singing of the "Battle Cry of Freedom," words and music composed by Geo. F. Root, Esq., of this city, after attending the great war meeting of last Saturday night [July 19]." The meeting mentioned by Root was described in *Tribune* headlines for July 28 (p. 4, col. 1) as "The Great War Meeting/ Immense Uprising of the People/ The Enthusiasm Increasing/ Speeches from Three Stands at Once/ Twenty Thousand People Celebrating/ The Court House Square Crowded/ Stirring Music—Patriotic Songs. . . ."

In the circumstances of the singing at this rally lie conclusive evidence that the song could not have been sung from the manuscript with the ink hardly dry. The *Tribune* added that it "was sung by a well trained chorus of voices, J. G. Lombard sustaining the solo and the band furnishing the accompaniment." In the same issue (p. 1, col. 9) appeared the first advertisement of the song.

A copy was not deposited for copyright until September 26, but it appears to be from the first edition. As described to me by Richard S. Hill, it is engraved, not printed from type, and the title, *The/ Battle Cry/ of/ Freedom*, is set without border or ornament, excepting large capitals B and C, which are shaded to appear three-dimensional. In the imprint the names of the following publishers are added to "Root & Cady, 95 Clark Street": "S. Brainard & Co., Cleveland; H. Tolman & Co., Boston; H. N. Hempsted, Milwaukee." Pages [2] and [5] are blank, as distinguished from later issues, which have on page [2] the words added in September, the "Battle Song," beginning "We are marching to the field, boys" and on page [5] an advertisement of other Root & Cady publications. Later issues were printed or stereotyped and bore a variety of title designs.

From then on until the end of the war, no meeting in Chicago was complete without "The Battle Cry of Freedom."<sup>9</sup> During the spring election campaign of 1863 the *Tribune* for April 21 separated its news items with slogans, including "Rally round the ballot box for the old flag, the Constitution, and the Union" and "The Battle Cry of Freedom at the ballot box today." On November 4, 1864 (p. 1, col. 1) the results of the presidential election were headed with the chorus of "The Battle Cry of Freedom," and when the news of Lee's surrender reached Chicago, the song was heard again.

A large crowd gathered in front of the Tremont House, and made the night musical with their cheers and shouts of joy. "John Brown," the "Battle Cry of Freedom" and "Praise God From Whom All Blessings Flow" were sung by the

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 2, 1862, p. 4, col. 4; October 23, 1862, p. 4, col. 1; April 10, 1863, p. 4, col. 1; and July 13, 1864, p. 4, col. 2-3.

multitude with great fervor. . . . As we write (1 A.M.) a band is promenading the streets playing national music, and all along our thoroughfares resound the shouts and cheers of an enthusiastic and excited multitude. . . .<sup>10</sup>

The spread of the song throughout the country is not easy to trace, but anecdotes telling how it was sung at various times and places are illuminating. The tradition that it was introduced by the Hutchinson Family at a public meeting in Union Square, New York City (in 1861!)<sup>11</sup> has not been substantiated. The Hutchinsons may indeed have been the first to sing it in New York, but John Wallace Hutchinson asserted that they first "brought out" "Rally Round the Flag"<sup>12</sup> at Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1863,<sup>13</sup> without referring at all to a Union Square meeting. It seems likely that the Hutchinsons did help to popularize the song in the East when it was considered a "Western" song.

One way in which the song spread was described in a letter printed in the *Century Magazine* for December, 1887. Recalling the black days at Murfreesboro just after the battle of Stone's River, the correspondent wrote of losses on the field augmented by resignations of officers from the border states who disapproved of the Emancipation Proclamation. When morale was at its lowest ebb a glee club came down from Chicago, bringing a new song, "The Battle Cry of Freedom." "The effect was little short of miraculous. It put as much spirit and cheer into the army as a victory. Day and night one could hear it by every camp fire and in every tent. I never shall forget how the men rolled out the line, 'And although he may be poor, he shall never be a slave.'"<sup>14</sup>

The song was easy to learn, molded in the time-honored pattern of line and response, so widely found in folk song and camp meeting hymns. The repetition of the phrase "Shouting the battle cry of freedom," the rousing tune, and the simple, dramatic words made it an easy matter for one man to learn the song from a messmate. There must have been a good deal of oral transmission, for the publishers were determined to protect their copyright. Only rarely are the words to be found in the songsters of other firms. When that inveterate anthologist, Frank Moore, gathered together his *Songs of the Soldiers* in 1864, he carefully listed the authors of most of the songs,

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, April 10, 1865, p. 4, col. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Our War Songs, North & South* (Cleveland: S. Brainards' [sic] Sons, c1887), p. 7. See also: Nicholas Smith, "The Battle Hymns of Nations," *Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S.—Wisconsin Commandery, War Papers* (Milwaukee: Burdick & Allen, 1903), III, p. 485.

<sup>12</sup> An alternative title, derived from the first line. Not to be confused with another song, *Rally Round the Flag*, by Wm. B. Bradbury.

<sup>13</sup> John W. Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons (Tribe of Jesse)* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896), I, p. 417.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Stone, "A Song in Camp," *Century Magazine*, XXXV (December, 1887), p. 320.

some of them fairly obscure, but "The Battle Cry of Freedom" and "Just Before the Battle, Mother," he entered as anonymous.<sup>15</sup> Could it be that he could not get permission to reprint and took this way out?

Besides oral transmission, the song was spread through sheet music copies. Less than two months after publication, the printing of the seventh thousand was announced "in an elegant shape, with colored title page, and the addition of new words,"<sup>16</sup> (the "Battle Song," which never achieved much popularity). On November 18, 1862 (p. 4, col. 3) the *Tribune* reported the sale had reached nearly twelve thousand. Widely varying estimates of the total sale of this song have been found; two years after the war the firm claimed a sale of 350,000 copies, and in later years the figure continued to mount to "between five and seven hundred thousand."<sup>17</sup> Since these figures apparently include publication of the songs in books, notably *The Bugle Call*, edited by George Root, they may be high, but are not unbelievable.

Besides the song itself, Root & Cady issued other versions of their best-seller: an arrangement for piano by Adolph Baumbach, filed for copyright June 24, 1863; "The Battle-Cry of Freedom with Variations" for piano by Emil Rein, ca. 1863; and "Battle Cry of Freedom, Grand Caprice de Concert," by Louis Moreau Gottschalk, filed May 15, 1865.<sup>18</sup> Just as Gilbert referred to "that infernal nonsense *Pinafore*" in *The Pirates of Penzance*, Root alluded to his most successful song in other works. In an incredible interlude for piano, descriptive of the whole war, part of his vocal duet, "North and South," ca. 1865, the four opening measures of "Battle Cry" indicated "Rallying to the Standard." And the third stanza of "Just Before the Battle, Mother," goes:

Hark! I hear the bugles sounding,  
 'Tis the signal for the fight.  
 Now may God protect us, Mother,  
 As he ever does the right.  
 Hear the "Battle Cry of Freedom,"

<sup>15</sup> Frank Moore, ed., *Songs of the Soldiers* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1864), pp. 227-230, 313-314.

<sup>16</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 16, 1862, p. 4, col. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Lydia A. Coonley, "George F. Root and His Songs," *New England Magazine*, XIX (January, 1896), p. 564. "At one time his publishers had fourteen printing presses at work on 'The Battle Cry of Freedom,' and could not supply the demand. A single house often ordered twenty thousand copies. . . ."

<sup>18</sup> "Nothing venture, nothing have." The truth of this adage is fully exemplified in the latest success of Root & Cady, who have obtained from the famous Gottschalk, at an expense of \$500, a magnificent transcription of the celebrated Battle Cry of Freedom. It has been received with the greatest enthusiasm at his concerts; and although croakers predicted that the publishers would never get their money back, they had orders for nearly 300 in advance of publication."—*Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1865, p. 4, col. 3.

How it swells upon the air,  
Oh, yes, we'll rally round the standard,  
Or we'll perish nobly there.

Of the parodies improvised by the soldiers themselves, only one has been found, a parody so gentle it would seem more at home in the nursery than in the army:

... lines of "Mary had a little lamb" were fitted snugly to the tune; and many a regiment shortened a weary march or went gayly into action, singing,

Mary had a little lamb,  
Its fleece was white as snow.  
Shouting the battle cry of freedom;  
And everywhere that Mary went  
The lamb was sure to go,  
Shouting the battle cry of freedom.<sup>19</sup>

One can only speculate whether other less respectable versions were not also current.

Contemporary letters and diaries as well as reminiscences written years later tell of many circumstances in which the song was sung. Individually none of these accounts has been corroborated, but taken together they reflect the emotional impact the song had. In his charming recollections of his childhood, Horace M. Brown describes how "the war songs were part of everyone's meat and drink," including "We'll Rally Round the Flag, Boys," and how he "was often called to the front of the school to sing the verses of such songs . . . while the rest of the school joined in the chorus. . . ."<sup>20</sup> In the field, the "first favorite with the soldiers" was "The Battle Cry of Freedom."<sup>21</sup> The publisher printed a note on "Just Before the Battle, Mother," saying: "In some of the divisions of our army the 'Battle Cry' is sung, when going into action, by order of the commanding officers." No contemporary evidence has been found to support this oft-repeated statement, but there are many stories showing uses in the army. Clara Barton is said to have sung "Rally Round the Flag, Boys" in a "none-too-melodious voice" while tending the wounded at Fredericksburg in early De-

<sup>19</sup> Brander Matthews, "The Songs of the War," *Century Magazine*, XXXIV (August, 1887), p. 625.

<sup>20</sup> Horace M. Brown, "A Small Boy's Recollections of the War Time," *Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S.—Wisconsin Commandery, War Papers* (Milwaukee: Burdick & Allen, 1903), III, pp. 200, 206-207.

<sup>21</sup> Brander Matthews, *loc. cit.*, Lloyd D. Harris states that "John Brown's Body" was the favorite song of eastern regiments, while "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp" and "Rally Round the Flag" were popular with western men. Cf. his "Army Music," *Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S.—Missouri Commandery, War Papers and Personal Reminiscences* (St. Louis, 1892), I, p. 271.



cember, 1862.<sup>22</sup> At the battle of Chickasaw Bayou later that month, beginning the Vicksburg campaign, it was sung by the Fifty-fifth Illinois.<sup>23</sup> A soldier who had just had an arm amputated sang it, leaning against a tent-pole during the battle of Spottsylvania, April 30, 1863,<sup>24</sup> and school children in Maryland sang it too, cheering Federal troops marching north to Gettysburg.<sup>25</sup> If we can believe an advertising puff, it was sung by General McPherson and his staff on the cupola of Vicksburg court house after the surrender.<sup>26</sup> Certainly the song was well known in Grant's army. Mrs. A. H. Hoge, sent by the Northwestern Sanitary Commission to Vicksburg to bring home sick and wounded Illinois soldiers, visited her son's regiment after the assaults of May 19 and 21 and asked the men to sing it for her.<sup>27</sup> War correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader remembered the arrival of the Lombard brothers (Lombard in his spelling) after the investment of Vicksburg and the opening of water communication northward. They were "employed and sent to the army in front of Vicksburg to visit all headquarters and hospitals (and all regiments so far as practicable) to give free concerts . . . and to cheer and inspire the troops by their excellent singing." Among the songs which were received with "uproarious encoring and applauding" was "The Battle Cry of Freedom."<sup>28</sup> It was also sung before Knoxville in November, 1863,<sup>29</sup> in the Wilderness in May, 1864,<sup>30</sup> in the Confederate prison at Danville, Virginia, 1864-65,<sup>31</sup> and at the ceremonies when Major Anderson returned the flag to its staff over Fort Sumter on April 14, 1865.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ishbel Ross, *Angel of the Battlefield: The Life of Clara Barton* (New York: Harper & Brothers, c1956), p. 53.

<sup>23</sup> Lucien B. Crooker, "Episodes and Characters in an Illinois Regiment," *Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S.—Illinois Commandery, Military Essays and Recollections* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1891), I, pp. 48-49.

<sup>24</sup> Charles C. Coffin, *The Boys of '61; or, Four Years of Fighting*, new ed., rev. and enl. (Boston: Dana Estes & Co., 1901), p. 352.

<sup>25</sup> Jesse B. Young, *What a Boy Saw in the Army* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, c1894), pp. 275-276.

<sup>26</sup> Root & Cady adv., *The Musical Review and Musical World* (New York) XIV (September 12, 1863), p. 223. Reprinted as a news item, *Ibid.* XIV (September 26, 1863), p. 234.

<sup>27</sup> Linus P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War: a Record of Heroism, Patriotism and Patience* (Philadelphia: Zeigler, McCordy & Co., 1867), p. 573.

<sup>28</sup> Sylvanus Cadwallader, *Three Years with Grant . . .*, ed. by Benjamin P. Thomas (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 96-97.

<sup>29</sup> David Lane, *A Soldier's Diary: The Story of a Volunteer, 1862-1865* (n.p., c1905), pp. 126-127.

<sup>30</sup> Nicholas Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

<sup>31</sup> Homer B. Sprague, *Lights and Shadows in Confederate Prisons, a Personal Experience, 1864-5* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), p. 104.

<sup>32</sup> Louis A. Banks, *Immortal Songs of Camp and Field* (Cleveland: The Burrows' Brothers Co., 1899), pp. 132-133.

Not only Union men sang it. General George E. Pickett, C.S.A., wrote to his wife on April 2, 1865, after the battle of Five Forks:

... Charge after charge was made and repulsed. ... Our left was turned; we were completely entrapped. ... I took the flag ... and ... called on my men to get into line to meet the next charge. Seeing this, a part of the famous old Glee Club ... began singing, "Rally round the flag, boys; rally once again." I rode straight up to where they were and joined in singing, "Rally once again," as I waved the blood-stained flag. And, my darling, overpowered, defeated, cut to pieces, starving, captured, as we were, those that were left of us formed front and north and south and met with sullen desperation their double onset ... we yielded to an overwhelming force. Sheridan's Cavalry alone numbering more than double my whole command.<sup>33</sup>

An officer of a newly enlisted Negro regiment wrote to his sister on January 4, 1864, from Seaford, Delaware, of the hundreds of Negroes, mostly slaves, who flocked to his camp to enlist:

The boys are singing:—

Rally round the flag, boys, rally once again

Shouting the battle-cry of freedom. ...

They sing with the heart, and the earnestness they put into the words is startling. Cool as I am I found myself getting excited as I heard their songs this afternoon and saw the electrifying effect on the crowds of slaves.<sup>34</sup>

Apparently the song spread among the slaves too, for in far-off Texas a former slave, many years later, recalled:

The end of the war, it come just like that—like you snap your fingers. ... How did we know it? Hallelujah broke out. ... Soldiers, all of a sudden was everywhere—coming in bunches, crossing and walking and riding. Everyone was a-singing. We was all walking on golden clouds. Hallelujah!

Union forever,

Hurrah, boys, hurrah!

Although I may be poor,

<sup>33</sup> George E. Pickett, *The Heart of a Soldier, as Revealed in the Intimate Letters of Genl. George E. Pickett, C.S.A.* (New York: S. Moyle, c1913), pp. 173-175. Apparently there was a Confederate edition, "words by William H. Barnes, music by Hermann L. Schreiner. Macon and Savannah, Ga., J. C. Schreiner & Son [c1864]." Cf. Richard B. Harwell, "Sheet Music Published in the Confederate States," in his *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c1950), pp. 101-156.

<sup>34</sup> Oliver W. Norton, *Army Letters, 1861-1865* (Chicago, 1903), p. 196.

I'll never be a slave—  
Shouting the battle cry of freedom.<sup>35</sup>

We quote one final romantic anecdote from a letter in the *Century Magazine*, evoked by the *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* series. Under the heading "Union War Songs and Confederate Officers," Richard Wentworth Browne told of a trip he made from a ship in the James River to Richmond a day or two after Lee's surrender. There he met the ship's surgeon, the paymaster, and one of the junior officers, a quartet which had sung together before. After dinner they enjoyed a sing, omitting patriotic songs in consideration of paroled Confederate officers in the house opposite. In his words:

Soon the lady of the house handed me this note: "Compliments of General ——— and staff. Will the gentlemen kindly allow us to come over and hear them sing?"

Of course we consented, and they came. As the General entered the room, I recognized instantly the face and figure of one who stood second only to Lee and Jackson in the whole Confederacy. After introductions . . . we sang for them glee and college songs, until at last the General said:

"Excuse me, gentlemen; you sing delightfully, but what we want to hear is your army songs." Then we gave them the army songs with unction—the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," "John Brown's Body," "We're Coming, Father Abraham," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching," through the whole catalogue to the "Star-Spangled Banner" . . . and closed our concert with "Rally Round the Flag, Boys."

When the applause had subsided, a tall fine-looking fellow, in a major's uniform, exclaimed: "Gentlemen, if we'd had your songs we'd have whipped you out of your boots! Who couldn't have marched or fought with such songs? We had nothing, absolutely nothing, except a bastard 'Marseillaise'—the 'Bonny Blue Flag' and 'Dixie' which were nothing but jigs. 'Maryland, My Maryland' was a splendid song, but the old 'Lauriger Horatius' was about as inspiring as the 'Dead March in Saul,' while every one of the Yankee songs is full of marching and fighting spirit." Then turning to the General, he said, "I shall never forget the first time I heard 'Rally Round the Flag.' 'Twas a nasty night during the 'Seven Days Fight,' and . . . it was raining. I was on picket, when, just before 'Taps,' some fellow on the other side struck up that song and others joined in the chorus until it seemed to me the whole Yankee army was singing. Tom B——, who was with me, sang out, 'Good Heavens, Cap, what are those fellows made of, anyway? Here we've licked 'em six days running, and now on the eve of the seventh they're

<sup>35</sup> Narrative of Felix Haywood, 92, San Antonio, Texas, born St. Hedwig, Texas, in B. A. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 223.

singing "Rally Round the Flag." ' I am not naturally superstitious, but I tell you that song sounded to me like the knell of doom, and my heart went down into my boots; and though I've tried to do my duty, it has been an uphill fight with me ever since that night."<sup>36</sup>

There can be no doubt of the wide popularity of "The Battle Cry of Freedom" among the broad masses of people, but how was it regarded by serious musicians and critics? By and large they ignored all the war songs. *Dwight's Journal of Music* never mentioned them, reserving its ink for more abstruse subjects. One musician with an international reputation, however, listened to the music around him—Louis Moreau Gottschalk. While he regarded most of the music inspired by the war as a "heap of dirt which the poetasters and the *musicasters* have raised at the foot of their country's altar," he took great pride in finding in that heap an "obscure flower"—"The Battle Cry of Freedom." To him its wide popularity was no argument against its intrinsic worth. "He who drinks whiskey with pleasure should not venture his opinion upon Tokay wine. 'The Battle Cry of Freedom' ought to become our national air; it has animation, its harmonies are distinguished, it has tune, rhythm, and I discover in it a kind of epic colouring, something sadly heroic which a battle song should have."<sup>37</sup>

After almost a hundred years Civil War songs are being rediscovered by a growing public of collectors, amateur historians, and armchair generals. In the centennial celebrations to come it is likely that some of them will be heard by a larger public than they have known since the 1860's. Musically "The Battle Cry of Freedom" is a simple, yet rousing melody with harmonies that have a satisfying inevitability—a song that still has much of its original warmth and vitality. As one of the few marching songs that was sung by both North and South, it may have a new surge of popularity as we approach the centennial of its birth.

<sup>36</sup> Richard W. Browne, "Union War Songs and Confederate Officers," *Century Magazine*, XXXV (January, 1888), p. 478.

<sup>37</sup> Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist . . .*, ed. by Clara Gottschalk, tr. from the French by Robert E. Peterson (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1881). Entry dated Norfolk, Virginia, April 14 [1864], p. 257. This was a year before his "Grand Caprice de Concert" was published (cf. note 18) and I have found no reason to suspect an ulterior motive.

Mr. Dietz is a graduate of Lawrence College and the University of Michigan, and formerly was assistant professor of music at North Dakota State College (1950-1956). Presently he is a graduate assistant in the musicology area of the Department of Music, State University of Iowa.

## Some Modern Recordings of Civil War Music

ROBERT J. DIETZ

IN THE FIELD OF CONCERT MUSIC composed and performed during the Civil War period, almost no long-play recordings are available. This is not the case, however, with songs and ballads. Here the folk singer and collector of songs has been encouraged by recording companies to bring us the musical expression of the camaraderie of the men in the field, the Abolitionist, the spirited but flirtatious Southern belle, the propagandist, and the people inevitably left behind. Recordings are not plentiful, of course, but there are enough—with many songs duplicated on the various recordings—to present the problem of choice to the Civil War enthusiast.

The manner of performance must also be considered. For example, in the recordings listed below, there are at least four different arrangements of "The Bonnie Blue Flag," ranging from a male vocalist with guitar to a chorus with full orchestra; or the tender "Lorena," which is sung in one case as a ballad to guitar accompaniment, in another, with accordion, violin, and double bass, and in another, with flute, harp, and strings. We have become so accustomed to hearing works like "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," and, more recently "The Yellow Rose of Texas," in full orchestra and chorus settings, that to hear them sung simply is a startling revelation.

In some cases, the recording companies have issued a descriptive brochure with their products, the most impressive and informative accompanying Columbia's *The Confederacy* and *The Union*. Also elaborately detailed, though obviously produced on a much smaller budget, is the booklet included with Folkways' *Ballads of the Civil War*. Here typewritten notes for each ballad, photographs, sketches, and excerpts from newspapers of the period are included, but the quality of print is, unfortunately, rather poor.

Among the recordings examined, the following have been chosen as representative and are readily available.

SONGS AND BALLADS OF AMERICA'S WARS, *Elektra EKL 13*. One ten-inch LP. Sung by Frank Warner. Notes by Anne Warner.

In addition to three songs from the French and Indian War, three from the American Revolution, and one from the War of 1812, Frank Warner sings six selections from the Civil War. The informative notes on the back of the jacket indicate the source of each song and how Frank and Anne Warner first heard them sung. Throughout the album, the songs are presented either unaccompanied, or accompanied with guitar or wooden banjo. Here is unaffected, sensitive, and moving ballad singing. The sound is excellent. The songs recorded on Side 2, "The Civil War," include:

- |                  |                              |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>The North</i> | 1. The Battle-Cry of Freedom |
|                  | 2. The Twenty-Third          |
|                  | 3. Virginia's Bloody Soil    |
| <i>The South</i> | 4. The Southern Girl's Reply |
|                  | 5. An Old Reconstructed      |
|                  | 6. The Bonnie Blue Flag      |

BALLADS OF THE CIVIL WAR, *Folkways Records FP 5004 (FP 48-7, FP 48-8)*. Two ten-inch LP's. Sung by Hermes Nye with guitar. Notes by Moses Asch.

Here, as in *Songs and Ballads of America's Wars*, the time-span covered (1831 to 1865) is greater than in any of the following albums. This is best indicated by quoting excerpts from the early antislavery "Abolitionist Hymn," with which this collection begins, and from the bitter but proud "Old Rebel," with which it ends:

We ask not that the slave should lie  
As lies his master, at his ease,  
Beneath a silken canopy  
Or in the shade of blooming trees.

• • • • •

Oh, I'm a good old rebel!  
Now that's just what I am;  
For this "Fair Land of Freedom"  
I do not care a damn!

Hermes Nye, who introduces himself as "a professional Texan by inclination," sings this varied group of ballads with appropriately varied interpretations, and, while not always convincing, always in good taste. Not all of the songs included here are specifically Civil War songs, but all are from



that general period. Certainly this is one of the largest collections and one of the best performed. The sound is excellent.

*FP 48-7*

- Side 1: 1. Abolitionist Hymn  
2. Davy Crockett  
3. Santa Anna  
4. Battle Hymn of the Republic  
5. Lincoln and Liberty
- Side 2: 6. The Bonnie Blue Flag  
7. Lorena  
8. When This Cruel War Is Over  
9. Farewell, Mother  
10. There Was an Old Soldier

*FP 48-8*

- Side 1: 11. General Patterson  
12. The Cumberland's Crew  
13. Cumberland Gap  
14. When Johnny Comes Marching Home  
15. In Charleston Jail
- Side 2: 16. All Quiet along the Potomac  
17. Longstreet's Rangers  
18. Goober Peas  
19. Roll, Alabama, Roll  
20. Abe Lincoln  
21. Old Rebel

SONGS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH (In the War between the States), *Decca DL 8093*. One twelve-inch LP. Sung by Frank Luther and Zora Layman, with the Century Quartet, Accompanied by accordion, double bass, and violin.

Thirty-five songs are included in this record, but it is difficult to find any difference in character between them. The songs of the North and the songs of the South are all sung in the style of "the singing cowboys of the West"! Perhaps the accompaniment of the accordion, the sentimental violin, and the unrelenting double bass contribute most to this effect, for the singing is almost nondescript. The notes on the jacket are unsigned, very brief, and superficial. The quality of sound, which hardly seems to be of any importance at this point, is good.

Side 1: *Songs of the North*

1. Battle-Cry of Freedom
2. Marching Along
3. We Are Coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 More
4. Grafted into the Army

5. Hard Crackers Come Again No More
6. Tenting Tonight on the Old Camp Ground
7. Just before the Battle, Mother
8. Just after the Battle
9. When Johnny Comes Marching Home
10. Brother Tell Me of the Battle
11. The Dying Volunteer
12. The Vacant Chair
13. Tramp, Tramp, Tramp
14. Oh Wrap the Flag around Me Boys
15. Sleeping for the Flag
16. Columbia the Gem of the Ocean
17. Faded Coat of Blue
18. Battle Hymn of the Republic

Side 2: *Songs of the South*

19. The Bonnie Blue Flag
20. Maryland, My Maryland
21. Cheer Boys, Cheer
22. Lorena
23. Goober Peas
24. Here's Your Mule
25. All Quiet along the Potomac
26. Ever of Thee I'm Fondly Dreaming
27. Rose of Alabama
28. Bonnie Eloise
29. A Life on the Vicksburg Bluff
30. Lilly Dale
31. When This Cruel War Is Over
32. Who Will Care for Mother Now?
33. Stonewall Jackson's Way
34. The Cavaliers of Dixie
35. Stonewall Jackson's Requiem

THE CONFEDERACY (Based on Music of the South during the Years 1861-65). *Columbia DL 220*. One twelve-inch LP. Richard Bales conducting the National Gallery Orchestra, The Cantata Choir of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, with Florence Kopleff, Mezzo-Soprano, Thomas Pyle, Baritone, and Reverend Edmund Jennings Lee, Narrator. Essays by Bruce Catton and Clifford Dowdey, and Notes on the music by Richard Bales.

The above description, as also that of the following album, indicates that these are the most elaborate of those reviewed here, and a mere glance at the albums themselves will reveal a product of quality. A beautiful and lengthy brochure, bound in the album, contains photographs of both the elevated and the lowly, in addition to documents, letters, and the essays by Catton and Dowdey. Because of the varied arrangements of the ten num-

bers recorded here, the instrumentation is included in the contents listed below. Mr. Bales has successfully avoided the pitfall of sentimentalizing or falsely glorifying the music in his arrangements, although the facilities at his disposal could easily have led in that direction. While the quality of sound is good, it is a bit disappointing when compared to its colorful and detailed surroundings.

1. General Lee's Grand March (Full Orchestra)
2. All Quiet along the Potomac Tonight (Soprano Solo with Small Orchestra)
3. The Bonnie Blue Flag (Chorus and Full Orchestra)
4. Lorena (Baritone Solo with Flute, Harp, and Strings)
5. The Yellow Rose of Texas (Chorus with Woodwind and Percussion)
6. Somebody's Darling (Soprano and Baritone Duet with Women's Chorus and Small Orchestra)
7. For Bales (Chorus and Full Orchestra)
8. General Lee's Farewell to the Army of Northern Virginia (Narrator and Small Orchestra)
9. The Conquered Banner (Percussion and String Introduction with Chorus *a capella*)
10. Dixie's Land (Chorus and Full Orchestra)

THE UNION (Based on Music of the North during the Years 1861-65), *Columbia DL 244*. One twelve-inch LP. Richard Bales conducting the National Gallery Orchestra, The Cantata Choir of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, with Peggy Zabawa, Soprano, Jule Zabawa, Baritone, and Raymond Massey, Narrator. Essays by Bruce Catton, Clifford Dowdey, and Allan Nevins, and Notes on the music by Richard Bales.

In general, the physical format and the musical presentation here are similar to those for *The Confederacy*. Indeed, one suspects a deliberate attempt at "equality" in every way, but then, it could hardly be otherwise. *The Union* was premièred on June 10, 1956, at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., for the Thirteenth American Music Festival. It was on June 7, 1953, that *The Confederacy* was first performed in the same surroundings and under similar auspices. What is even more fascinating in this comparison is that Mr. Bales has a family heritage which allowed him to dedicate the earlier work to his maternal grandfather, Lieutenant Richard Henry Horner, Sixth Virginia Cavalry, and the latter to his paternal grandfather, Captain Henri Ahijah Bales, "... who entered the Civil War on his fifteenth birthday, and later raised a company of cavalry in his native Indiana."

Here, too, are ten numbers, or "movements," and again the whole is presented, musically and dramatically, with restraint, (but not without vitality) and good taste. The only notable difference in the quality of these Co-

lumbia albums is in the reproduction, but perhaps *The Union* fares better in recorded sound than did *The Confederacy* only in the specific pressings which this reviewer examined.

1. The American Army, Polka or Military Quickstep (Orchestra)
2. Tenting on the Old Camp Ground (Chorus with Wind and Percussion Orchestra)
3. The Battle Cry of Freedom (Chorus with Orchestra)
4. Aura Lee (Baritone Solo, Chorus, and Small Orchestra)
5. The Invalid Corps (Baritone Solo, Male Chorus, and Orchestra)
6. Just Before the Battle, Mother (Baritone Solo, Male Chorus, and Orchestra)
7. The Field at Gettysburg (Orchestra, Speaker, and Chorus with Orchestra)
  - a. Orchestral Prelude
  - b. The "Gettysburg Address"
  - c. The President's Hymn (Chorus and Orchestra)
8. The Vacant Chair (Soprano Solo, Chorus, and Small Orchestra)
9. Abraham Lincoln's Funeral March
  - a. March (Orchestra)
  - b. Taps (Trumpet Solo)
  - c. The President's Grave (Chorus *a capella*)
10. The Grand Review (Chorus and Orchestra)
 

"When Johnny Comes Marching Home"; "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"; "Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!"; "Hold on, Abraham"; "Marching Through Georgia"; "Raw Recruits" [also used in No. 5, "The Invalid Corps"]; a portion of "Kingdom Coming"; Finale. ("There follows an orchestral coda on 'The Girl I Left Behind Me' which builds to the climax. 'The Flourish for Review' before the White House and the cheers of the crowd bring *The Union* to its conclusion.")

*Mr. Blum is currently working on a doctorate in musicology at the State University of Iowa and plans to spend the 1958-1959 year studying and doing research in Germany on Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst and Fulbright Committee grants. In the following articles, condensed from a more extended bibliographic survey, the author is especially concerned with the fine art music produced around the time of the Civil War.*

## Music During the Civil War: A Preliminary Survey

FRED BLUM

NO COMPREHENSIVE STUDY of Civil War music has been attempted to date. Much of the material for such a study is now at hand. In addition to passing references to Civil War music in monographs on topics ranging from music publishing to music education, from regional history to biography, and from popular music to art music, contemporary accounts appear in the newspapers, musical and non-musical periodicals, memoirs, and letters of the 1860's. Perhaps this brief summary of the existing material, gathered together and viewed in perspective, will serve as a suitable introduction to further study in Civil War music.

In order to understand Civil War music in historical context, it is necessary to consider certain social and economic processes that began during the first half of the nineteenth century or earlier, among them economic expansion, urbanization, westward movement of the frontier, and immigration. During the eighteenth century, southern towns, such as Williamsburg and Charleston, competed with northern towns like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia for the attention of visiting English and French musicians. They and the Moravian settlements at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Salem, North Carolina, also produced a limited home-grown art. However, the diminutive size of the towns did not encourage indigenous music. In Virginia, the oldest and most populous of the colonies, no city exceeded a population of four thousand in 1790.<sup>1</sup> But the southern towns failed to

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth . . . 1790-1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 12.

keep pace with northern economic expansion. At the turn of the century maritime commerce shifted from southern to northern ports. By 1829 Charleston, the center of transatlantic shipping in 1815, suffered a seventy-five per cent decrease in tonnage.<sup>2</sup> Northern mining, industry, and commerce provided a solid base for the expanding economy and produced large personal fortunes.

Post-Civil War musical enterprises reflected this prosperity. Thus, in 1881, Boston financier Henry L. Higginson set the pattern for the financing of most major American orchestras when he undertook to hire a symphony and to provide one million dollars in principal to meet the projected deficit.<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter, "fifty gentlemen," including such tycoons as three members of the Armour family, Henry and Marshall Field, C. Norman Fay, Cyrus McCormick, and George M. Pullman guaranteed "\$1,000 per annum each for three years against any deficit" resulting from the operations of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.<sup>4</sup> Such activity would have been impossible in the South, even if she had kept pace with northern postwar expansion. Consequently, only New Orleans and the border cities of St. Louis, Baltimore, and Louisville resumed musical activity during the 1870's.

Apart from the continuous trends towards economic expansion and northern dominance, temporary financial booms and busts affected musical activity. Booms, whether due to San Francisco's gold, Virginia City's silver, or New York's war-time inflation, meant ready money; and ready money meant gaiety, display, and sumptuous entertainment—in a word, theater and opera. During recessions, however, chamber and choral music dominated. These media were less expensive to maintain and, therefore, less affected by temporary disturbances. For example in San Francisco, "Grand opera presentations held the spotlight during 1854 and until July, 1855. With the financial panic of 1855, opera temporarily disappeared. . . . [It] regained its former position in 1858."<sup>5</sup>

Urbanization took place rapidly during the first half of the century, particularly in the North. In 1790 the Census listed the six largest cities as: Philadelphia, 42,500; New York, 33,000; Boston, 18,000; Charleston, 16,500; Baltimore, 13,500; and Salem, 8000.<sup>6</sup> These cities contained less than four per cent of the national population, of which roughly ninety per cent were farmers and fifteen per cent slaves. But by 1860 one hundred and forty-one

<sup>2</sup> John G. B. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> John H. Mueller, *The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1951), p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Philo Adams Otis, *The Chicago Symphony Orchestra: Its Organization, Growth, and Development* (Chicago: Clayton F. Summy, 1924), pp. 27 and 29.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond Francis Foote, "Music in San Francisco: 1848-60," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, III (1950), p. 287 (abstract).

<sup>6</sup> *A Century of Population Growth*, p. 11.



cities contained sixteen per cent of the population. New York topped the list, followed by Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston.<sup>7</sup> This concentration of people, including a large middle class, in cohesive urban communities, facilitated the gathering of both performers and audiences.

As the frontier moved westward, the musical frontier moved with it. By the beginning of the war, indigenous musical activity had spread from the Atlantic seaboard to Chicago and Milwaukee in the North, St. Louis and New Orleans on the Mississippi, and then, passing over the largely unsettled plains, to the West Coast cities. Philo Adams Otis recounts:

When my father, James Otis, brought his family to Chicago in 1857, the city was just emerging from the chrysalis state of a village, and was fast assuming the appearance of a thriving Western town. Some attempts had been made to develop the musical resources; . . . a few churches had two-manual organs and good choirs; a singing society, the Musical Union, had given its first concert in April (1857); and a season of orchestral concerts by the Philharmonic Society, under the leadership of Henry Ahner, was then in progress.<sup>8</sup>

The discovery of gold brought the musical frontier to San Francisco comparatively early. In 1850, the year during which Chicagoans first heard the Philharmonic Society, San Franciscoans heard their first important visiting artist, the Viennese pianist Henri Herz. By 1854 there were "eleven different opera series, probably brief, of one sort and another" in that city of "about 50,000" persons—most of them men!<sup>9</sup>

The smaller towns could not support such elaborate ventures. Most of their activity was carried on by transient performers and companies. Virginia City, a silver-mining town of two thousand persons in the Territory of Nevada, became, "after San Francisco, the most important theatrical and concert town in the west."<sup>10</sup> By 1862 the musical frontier had reached outlying Seattle, Washington. In that year piano instruction was added to the program of the University (founded the previous year) to attract young women of the community—and their tuition fees—to the struggling school.<sup>11</sup> These lessons, along with singing schools, a band, and some

<sup>7</sup> Waldo Seldon Pratt, "Historical Introduction," in the *American Supplement to Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3rd ed., rev. (New York: Macmillan, 1935), pp. 5 and 13.

<sup>8</sup> Otis, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Fried, "San Francisco," in *Musical U.S.A.: How Music Developed in the Major American Cities*, Quintance Eaton, ed. (New York: Allen, Towne, and Heath, 1949), p. 167; population from Foote, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Howard Swan, *Music in the Southwest: 1825-1950* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1952), p. 71.

<sup>11</sup> Hazel Gertrude Kinsella, "Seattle and the Northwest Pacific," in *Musical U.S.A.*, p. 198.

church choirs, probably made up the whole of the territory's serious musical activity.

Before 1870, by which time railroad mileage had increased extensively, only soloists could "go around the Horn" or take the difficult overland route to West Coast cities. Operatic companies and orchestras could rarely afford to do so. "No form of professional amusement came to Utah until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 made it possible for traveling companies to stop in Salt Lake City."<sup>12</sup> Similarly in the South, tardiness in railroad building tended to restrict musical activity to the port cities.

From the 1830's to the 1850's a vast influx of immigrants from Great Britain, Germany, and Ireland came to the United States. Economic and political upheavals made it imperative that they leave home; American prosperity beckoned. The German and English immigrants, in particular, included an extraordinary high percentage of musicians, music teachers, and piano makers.<sup>13</sup> By 1860 New York City had become the principal port of entry, followed by New Orleans, Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco, and Philadelphia. Upon arrival many of the newcomers moved inland and maintained their culture with their countrymen. The Germans settled in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri, and the English in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Michigan, with only 13.4 per cent of the immigrants settling in slave-holding states. The foreign-born exceeded the native-born population in St. Louis, Milwaukee, and San Francisco. German immigrants accounted for about one-third of St. Louis' 60 per cent foreign-born and Milwaukee's 50 per cent foreign-born, while San Francisco's gold and labor market drew a polyglot people. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Cleveland also drew a high concentration of Germans.<sup>14</sup> Thus, while Boston and several southern cities derived their musical culture from earlier English settlers, musical activity in St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Chicago was generally synonymous with German musical activity. Moreover, when music finally reached the West Coast towns, particularly after the war, it was carried there by German musicians who moved with the frontier. Indeed, only the French colony in New Orleans provided an important exception to German-English musical domination. Perhaps because of the absence of any language barrier, a comparatively high percentage of the English musicians taught music; but the Germans, far more than the English, transplanted to America's virgin soil the musical culture that Europe had nurtured for centuries.

<sup>12</sup> Swan, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Prince Hutchinson, *Immigrants and Their Children: 1850-1950* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956), p. 80, footnote and pp. 82-84, Table 21.

<sup>14</sup> U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1860 . . .* (Eighth Census) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), especially pp. xxiii and xxx-xxxii.

## SACRED MUSIC

The 1860's marked a turning point in American sacred music practices. The singing of metrical versions of the Psalms had served as a central portion of the Protestant worship since the arrival of the Pilgrims. From the end of the eighteenth century hymns became increasingly important, gradually relegating psalm-singing to a secondary place. However, the psalters and hymnals rarely contained music. At first the texts were sung to a limited number of familiar tunes, frequently secular in origin. Then "singing-schools" developed, usually a month or two of lessons from an itinerant singing-master. As congregations learned to read music, tune-books, containing instructions in the rudiments of music, as well as psalm and hymn tunes, single and double chants for Episcopal services, and short anthems, were adopted. These included the works of native composers like William Billings (1746-1800), Andrew Law (1748-1821), and Oliver Holden (1765-1844), often with imitative "fuging-tunes."<sup>15</sup> Since text and music were contained in separate books, various expedients had to be adopted in performance: Either a leader recited each line of text before it was sung ("lined out" the text), tunes (or texts) were committed to memory, or both hymnal and tunebook were used simultaneously. Since church music practices changed slowly, these methods still prevailed in many mid-century churches.

Gradually a demand arose for a livelier and more popular hymnody "adapted to the use of families and private circles in seasons of revival, to missionary meetings, to the monthly concert [monthly prayer meetings in behalf of the new missionary movement], and to other occasions of special interest."<sup>16</sup> Thus a vast "mass-produced" literature developed. Such hymnody predominated in the large cities—such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston—where mass-production techniques and high-pressure salesmanship were transferred from the business to the musical world. Lowell Mason's *Carmina Sacra* alone, "in various editions, sold 500,000 copies between 1841 and 1858."<sup>17</sup> The compilers of these collections tended to reject the earliest American composers and anything suggestive of complexity (e.g., the "fuging-tunes") in favor of well-known composers and such nineteenth-century Americans as Thomas Hastings (1784-1872), William Bradbury (1816-1868), and Henry K. Oliver (1800-1885). Whatever their faults, these compilers did advance the use of modern notation, the practice of singing, and music education.

<sup>15</sup> For biographical material on these and the other composers cited in this paper see *Bio-bibliographical Index of Musicians in the United States of America from Colonial Times* (Washington, D.C.: Music Division, Pan-American Union, 1941).

<sup>16</sup> Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 208. He quotes Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings, *Spiritual Songs* (Boston, 1832).

<sup>17</sup> Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), p. 150; see also Waldo Selden Pratt, "Tune-Books," in *American Supplement to Grove's Dictionary*, p. 391.

Just before and during the war a group of Unitarians centering in Boston produced a number of Abolitionist hymns. Oliver Wendell Holmes, for instance, wrote his "Army Hymn" ("O Lord of Hosts! Almighty King!") for a meeting called in Boston to celebrate the Emancipation Proclamation.<sup>18</sup> Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" first appeared as a poem in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1862.<sup>19</sup> The noted Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, also contributed several Abolitionist hymns.<sup>20</sup>

Because of the failure of the leaders of the genteel tradition to provide either an inspired popular music or a significant art music, a bifurcation of sacred musical style took place during the 1860's. Popular hymnology was based increasingly upon hymns of the social gospel, religious interpretations of evolutionary doctrine, and the gospel songs of such men as Ira D. Sankey, whereas the better type of church music relied on Old World practices:

By October 16, 1861, it was possible to have a choir festival in Trinity Church, New York, in which five choirs of men and boys [coming from New Jersey and Rhode Island, as well as New York] participated. . . . The program consisted of standard Anglican chant and Handel, with an anthem by Cutler [Henry Stephen Cutler (1824-1902), a Bostonian who served as organist at Trinity Church throughout the War].<sup>21</sup>

Catholic church music was not distinctive at the time of the war. In 1840, Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick of Boston claimed that there was no singing in two-thirds of America's Catholic churches.<sup>22</sup> Even allowing for some exaggeration, the situation had changed only slightly by the 1860's. Gregorian Chant was scarcely introduced and polyphonic Masses were the exception. Excerpts from such collections as Benjamin Carr's *Masses, Vespers, Litanies* . . . (Philadelphia, 1805) could still be heard. Occasionally metropolitan churches performed a Haydn or Mozart Mass. Sometimes original compositions, composed by immigrant musicians for their own churches, constituted the *pièce de résistance*. Thus Emile Karst, born in Alsace in 1826 and a resident of St. Louis from 1839 until his death in 1917, wrote considerable choral music for St. Louis' churches (probably throughout the war). One of his Masses was performed at St. Patrick's Church in Washington, D.C. as late as 1914.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Foote, *Hymnody*, p. 246 f.

<sup>19</sup> John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music: Three Hundred Years of It* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1946, 3rd ed., rev.), pp. 258-59.

<sup>20</sup> Foote, *Hymnody*, pp. 254 ff., cites these works and gives references.

<sup>21</sup> Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1953), p. 77.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>23</sup> Ernst C. Krohn, *A Century of Missouri Music* (St. Louis: privately printed, 1924), p. 16; see p. 114 for bio-bibliographical sketch.

Minority religious groups played a prominent part in America's musical development, with the instrumental ensembles and trombone choirs of the Moravians and the music of the Mormons, especially before the completion of the transcontinental railroad. The gradual arrival of experienced English musicians like conductor C. J. Thomas, critic John Tullidge, and composer George Careless raised the congregation's musical standards. E. W. Tullidge states: "The Tabernacle choir had never risen above the musical status of an ordinary choir of a country church; but under C. J. Thomas it became fairly metropolitan, and good anthem music was frequently performed on Sundays to the delight of the congregation, the majority of whom had come from the musical cities of Great Britain."<sup>24</sup>

#### POPULAR MUSIC AND BANDS

In addition to the revival hymn, Negro spiritual, sentimental song, and minstrel show, the war encouraged the production of two types of functional music: war songs and band marches. Many war songs were *contrafacta*, i.e., they combined a new text with an old melody, or conversely. "Dixie," composed by a northerner, Dan Emmett, as a "walk-around" to one of his minstrel shows, was played at the inauguration of Jefferson Davis and became one of the patriotic songs of the South, especially after General Albert Pike set stirring words to the tune in 1861 ("Up, lest worse than death befall you!"). The North continued to sing the melody to its own words; a popular northern broadside sung to it began, "Away down south in the land of traitors."<sup>25</sup>

Sometimes sentimental songs were turned into war songs, thereby substituting for the naïveté of the "genteel tradition," the violence of the battlefield. The tune of Henry Clay Work's "We're coming, Sister Mary" was used for James Sloan Gibbon's text, "We're coming, Father Abraham." The same tune was used as an "inflation song" in one of Emmett's minstrel shows, the text referring to Congressional authorization to print paper money to finance the war.<sup>26</sup> Conversely, new musical settings of the "Father Abraham" text by Luther Orlando Emerson and Stephen Foster produced *contrafacta* by combining an old text with new melodies.

Bands and band music increased during the war. In 1861 the United States Government authorized military bands to accompany the troops into camp and field, and although the Confederate War Office made no such direct authorization, Confederate bands were organized similarly to those in the North. Each infantry, artillery, and cavalry regiment had a

<sup>24</sup> Swan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>25</sup> See Hans Nathan, "Dixie," *Musical Quarterly*, XXXV (1949), pp. 60-84. Richard B. Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), includes bibliographies of sheet music published in the Confederate States and of discussions pertaining to this music.

<sup>26</sup> See Hans Nathan, "Two Inflation Songs of the Civil War," *Musical Quarterly*, XXIX (1943), pp. 242-53.

band. The North had, in addition, three bands to a brigade, three to a division, and one to a corps, a total of thirty-three per field army. Although the average band consisted of about fifteen pieces, the most notable groups (e.g., Frank Raucher's 114th Regiment Band, P. V. Collis' Zouaves of Pennsylvania, Grafulla's 7th Regiment of New York Band, and Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore's 24th Massachusetts Band) included about fifty pieces each. Since the band members frequently had to serve as stretcher bearers, often losing their instruments in the process, the bands were seldom at full strength.<sup>27</sup>

### FINE ART MUSIC

In the past little attention has been devoted to the secular fine art music of the 1860's: the solo, chamber, choral, operatic, and orchestral performances. European artists, desirous of sharing in American prosperity, made frequent visits to our shores during the 1840's and 1850's. Violinist Ole Bull, pianists Henri Herz and Sigismund Thalberg, and singers Henriette Sonntag and Jennie Lind, toured throughout the country, catering to popular taste to attract wide audiences. Bravura performances and popular literature were the order of the day. Solo recitals could be heard during the war outside war-torn areas. The eight year old Venezuelan pianist, Teresa Carreño, made her début at Irving Hall, New York, on November 25, 1862, with a program that included works by Hummel, Thalberg, and Gottschalk.<sup>28</sup> Gottschalk himself toured during the war, reaching as unlikely a place as Virginia City in 1863, where he played on a Chickering piano brought all the way from San Francisco.<sup>29</sup>

The majority of mid-century chamber ensembles were temporary groups consisting of a few musicians who came together for a limited number of public or, more frequently, private concerts. They rarely kept records. Consequently, unless the concert was duly noted by the local newspaper (in a social note, advertisement, or, rarely, a review) or in the letters or memoirs of a participant, no information about it survives. Professional orchestra players from city-supported orchestras frequently formed groups to give chamber concerts. If they did not form the nucleus of an ensemble, they often supplemented it—thereby making the performance of sextets or octets possible. Since many of these instrumentalists moved westward or, perhaps on account of the war, returned to their native Europe, the turnover in personnel was rapid.

<sup>27</sup> We are indebted to John F. Boewe, whose unpublished paper, "Melodies, Bands, and Wars: Music of the Civil War," provided much of the material for this paragraph.

<sup>28</sup> Harold Gleason, *American Music from 1620-1929*, in *Music Literature Outlines*, Series III (Rochester, New York: Levis Music Stores, 1955), following p. 75, gives a facsimile of this program.

<sup>29</sup> Swan, *op. cit.*, p. 71.



The Mendelssohn Quintet Club, "the first professional group organized in this country which devoted itself exclusively to the performance of chamber music," was founded in Boston in 1849.<sup>30</sup> During the season of 1859-60 it toured to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. Although the war interrupted the southern visits after 1860, the group continued to tour the midwestern states during the war. Along with the Mendelssohn Club, Boston had the German Trio, which played a series of six concerts there between 1854 and the beginning of the war. Elsewhere in Massachusetts was Worcester's Beethoven Trio.

Sustained concerts were given in New York City during the war by the Mason-Thomas Quartet (violinists Theodore Thomas and Joseph Mosenthal, violist George Matzka, cellist Frederick Bergner, and pianist William Mason). Temporary series, such as those given by the Chamber Concert Union during March and April of 1860 and the Noll Quartet in 1861 and 1862, rounded out the musical calendar.

For every well-organized professional group there were numerous amateur groups of varying quality. Charles Grube organized an amateur quartet in Poughkeepsie, New York, during the 1860's.<sup>31</sup> Even Falmouth Corner and Bangor, Maine, had their chamber groups. "In Falmouth Corner, from about 1865 on, a group of five men met in weekly rehearsals of chamber music for the sheer pleasure they derived from it."<sup>32</sup>

In some sections of the Middle West, notably Milwaukee and Chicago, chamber music had developed even before the war. Milwaukee, founded in 1833, boasted of an outstanding string quartet as early as 1849. Chicago, with the Briggs House Concerts of 1860-1861 and the Balatka "Classical Chamber Concerts" beginning in 1863, followed Milwaukee's lead. In Denver, Alex Sutherland, a cornet player, inaugurated a concert series in 1864, and in 1865, the program, along with the customary violin and cornet soloists, included a string sextet. Little chamber music was performed in the Confederacy before or during the war. Two exceptions were a trio in Louisville, which played chamber music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven early in the 1860's, and an immigrant quartet in St. Louis, which included in its programs the works of Peter Gottlieb Anton, Sr., who was its first violinist.<sup>33</sup> Such public concerts as were given during the war in the Confederacy were benefit performances for the wounded (like that given by the Savannah, Georgia, Quartet Club in 1861). Moreover, musical

<sup>30</sup> Roger Paul Phelps, *The History and Practice of Chamber Music in the United States from Earliest Times up to 1875* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1951), p. 285. Phelps provides most of the material for our discussion of chamber music.

<sup>31</sup> Helen J. Andrus, *A Century of Music in Poughkeepsie: 1802-1911* (Poughkeepsie: Frank B. Howard, 1912), p. 45.

<sup>32</sup> Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

<sup>33</sup> Krohn, *op. cit.*, p. 27; see p. 102 for bio-bibliographical sketch.

recovery in the postwar Confederacy was slow, and where it occurred at all, such as in New Orleans, chamber music yielded to opera, indeed to such an extent that a quartet assembled by a local citizen to play in his home in the 1870's chose to play, instead of chamber music, quartet arrangements from operas by Meyerbeer, Halévy, and Gounod.

The singing-school movement led to the formation of many choral groups. These met competitively in singing-school festivals. By 1856 such festivals were so widespread that a lad in remote Oregon City could write:

I must tell you something about our singing & School which I have attended over a year. We sang out of Florias Festival. . . . There were eighty singers. . . . A month afterwards we went down to the city of Portland and had a Festival there. . . . We sang the Festival in the evening in the Methodist church.<sup>34</sup>

The influx of German immigrants stimulated the development of independent choral societies to such an extent that Congress founded, in 1849, the Nord-Amerikanischer Sängerbund for promotion of German songs and music.<sup>35</sup> Other notable organizations active during the war included Boston's Handel and Haydn Society, the Worcester County Musical Convention, and Oberlin College's Musical Union. After the war huge festivals were held to celebrate the peace. Perhaps the largest of them all, larger even than the Boston Peace Jubilee (1869) and the International Peace Jubilee (Boston, 1872), was held in San Francisco's Mechanics Pavilion in 1870. An adult chorus of twelve thousand and a children's chorus of two thousand sang to the accompaniment of organ, a one-hundred piece orchestra, "military band, electrically controlled artillery, bells, drum corps, and 50 anvils with 100 firemen."<sup>36</sup>

Opera could be heard in several northern cities during the war. Not only did New York's Italian opera continue unabated, but in 1862 Karl Anschütz began an important but short-lived German opera series with performances by Mozart, Beethoven, and Carl Maria von Weber.<sup>37</sup> Clara Louise Kellogg returned to Philadelphia that same year, singing in several operas with the troupe that bore her name.<sup>38</sup>

On the eve of the war, New Orleans' opera-goers could choose between the varied performances of the new French Opera House or the older Théâtre d'Orléans. During the first three months of 1861 the eighteen year old Adelina Patti could be heard at the French Opera House in *Robert le Diable*, *Il Trovatore*, *Les Huguenots*, *Lucia*, *Charles VI*, and *Le Pardon de*

<sup>34</sup> Kinscella, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>35</sup> William Arms Fisher, *Music Festivals in the United States: An Historical Sketch* (Boston: American Choral and Festival Alliance, 1934), p. 71.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> Frédéric Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), pp. 351-52.

<sup>38</sup> Robert A. Gerson, *Music in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1940), p. 125.

*Ploërmel*. Prices ranged from 50 cents to \$1.50!<sup>39</sup> New Orleans' postwar operatic recovery was so rapid that, on November 9, 1866, the French Opera House reopened with an Italian company that included contralto Amalia Patti, sister of Adelina.

Only two operas by native composers—William Henry Fry's *Leonora* (Philadelphia, 1845) and George Frederick Bristow's *Rip Van Winkle* (New York, 1855)—had been performed before the war. Fry's second opera, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, was given in Philadelphia in 1864. However, the immigrant composers contributed several pre-war and wartime works. For instance, *Mohega*, by Eduard de Sobolewski, a Polish-born immigrant who had studied with Carl Maria von Weber and Karl Friedrich Zelter, was performed in Milwaukee in 1859. The "Introduction" and "Scena for Male Chorus" from C. Heinrich von Weber's *Joan of Arc* were performed by the St. Louis Philharmonic Society on January 5, 1865.<sup>40</sup>

The rise of the symphony orchestra has been called "the most conspicuous single phenomenon in the evolution of this nineteenth-century American musical romance."<sup>41</sup> Just as foreign recitalists preceded and stimulated native performance, so touring foreign orchestras encouraged the development of indigenous symphonic societies. Such orchestras as the German Steyermark and Germania ensembles and the French group of Louis Antoine Jullien played in cities and towns from Boston to St. Louis and from Chicago to New Orleans during the two decades preceding the war.

Only one extant orchestra dates back to pre-war days, the New York Philharmonic Society. The orchestra's initial appearance took place in 1842; three concerts were given that year, four annually through 1858, and then five through 1868. By 1856 the Philharmonic had moved to the Academy of Music at Fourteenth Street and Irving Place, but "at the outbreak of the Civil War the officers of the Philharmonic, expecting a falling off in attendance, transferred their concerts from the Academy to the smaller Irving Hall, where they remained from 1861 to 1863."<sup>42</sup> They then returned to the Academy, where they remained until the fire of 1866 temporarily forced them into Steinway Hall. As early as the second season the roster included sixty-three members, a number considerably increased by the 1860's. The repertory, like the personnel, was largely German. Between 1842 and 1850 nearly one-third of the repertory consisted of Beethoven; over one-third consisted of Mendelssohn, Spohr, Weber, and Mozart; and the last third included a host of composers, such as Lindpainter, Hummel, Kalliwoda, Rossini, Schubert, Donizetti, Haydn, Meyerbeer, Gade,

<sup>39</sup> Harry Brunswick Loëb, "New Orleans," in *Musical U.S.A.*, pp. 152-53.

<sup>40</sup> Krohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 14-15; see pp. 128 and 133 for bio-bibliographical sketches.

<sup>41</sup> Mueller, *The American Symphony Orchestra*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>42</sup> John Erskine, *The Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York: Its First Hundred Years* (New York: Macmillan, 1943), p. 15.

Cherubini, Verdi, and Schumann.<sup>43</sup> When Carl Bergmann became the Philharmonic's first permanent conductor in 1865, he introduced the music of Liszt (the *Faust Symphony* in 1864), Berlioz, and Wagner (e.g., the "Overture" to *The Flying Dutchman* in 1863). In tribute to Lincoln, following his assassination, the orchestra substituted Beethoven's "Funeral March" (from the *Eroica Symphony*) for the originally planned "Hymn to Joy" (Ninth Symphony).

In the years immediately preceding the war, the Germania Orchestra made Boston its temporary home. Carl Zerrahn, first flutist of that group, organized there the Philharmonic Orchestra, which gave concerts from 1855 to 1863. Apparently there was a void in Boston's orchestral life from 1863 to 1865, no doubt caused by the distractions of the war. In 1865 an orchestra sponsored by the Harvard Musical Association was founded "to appeal to persons of taste."<sup>44</sup>

Next to New York and Boston, Philadelphia provided the most active concert life in the East. From 1833 to 1873 the Philharmonic Society gave concerts, the first of which included a work by Philadelphian William Henry Fry. In 1856 a local group adopted the name of the Germania Orchestra in tribute to that ensemble, and continued to play "with considerable artistic and financial success for forty years after that date."<sup>45</sup> There were other eastern orchestras of lesser significance. For instance, the group organized in Poughkeepsie by Louis and Charles Grube in 1847 survived until 1870.<sup>46</sup>

St. Louis rivaled the eastern cities in the early development of orchestral resources. In 1860 the St. Louis Philharmonic Society engaged Eduard de Sobolewski, the composer cited earlier, to conduct at a salary of \$1,000 annually; the Society remained active throughout the war. In Cleveland the Caecilian Society and in San Francisco Rudolph Herold's intermittent concerts added to wartime orchestral life.

Four effects of the war on serious music remain to be cited: concerts given in honor of distinguished personages, important events, or wartime charities; compositions with titles, dedications, or textual (or musical) effects commemorating heroes or battles; enlistment of musicians; and relocation of audiences. Gottschalk's piano extravaganza, *The Union* (composed in 1862 or 1863), "prophesying the rescue of the Union by the Northern armies," typifies the barren commemorative literature.<sup>47</sup> Enlistment

<sup>43</sup> Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>45</sup> Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>46</sup> Andrus, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 and 45.

<sup>47</sup> Chase, *America's Music*, p. 319. For important Lincoln-inspired orchestral and choral works by composers Aaron Copeland, David Diamond, Rubin Goldmark, Morton Gould, Roy Harris, Daniel Gregory Mason, and Silas Gamaliel Pratt, see Chase, *op. cit.* and Howard, *op. cit.* See also Louis A. Warren, *Lincoln Sheet Music: Check List* (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Lincolniana Publishers, 1940).

had a direct effect on musical activity. Among the notable composers serving in the Confederate Army alone were Sidney Lanier (1842-81), Richard S. Poppen (1839-1912), and John Hill Hewitt (1801-90).

The war caused many foreign musicians to return to Europe. Touring groups changed their itineraries to avoid war-torn areas, and as men left the cities for the battlefields, audiences diminished. The New York Philharmonic moved to a smaller hall, but other groups succumbed. Activity virtually ceased in the smaller western towns and throughout the South. However, after the war many uprooted musicians, particularly those immigrant artists who had not yet identified themselves with a particular region, joined the general postwar migration to the West and Southwest, once more extending the musical frontier to deprived areas.

Among the most important musical events of the period was the return from Europe of two New England-born composers who, following the practice of the day, had gone to Germany to study. The activities of these men, Dudley Buck (1839-1909) and John Knowles Paine (1839-1906), influenced the future development of serious American sacred and secular music, respectively.

Despite the considerable number of recent studies devoted to the music of the mid-nineteenth century, many aspects of this period in American musical history remain unexplored. While much attention has been given to its literary aspects, especially the texts of songs, the music itself (particularly the more serious attempts at creating a fine art music) has received only scant treatment. Other fields of investigation that could prove rewarding to scholars include music education and music criticism—areas in which the United States has by no means always lagged behind the contemporary developments abroad.

# The Continuing War

EDITED BY JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

Department of History, Emory University  
Atlanta, Georgia

*A native of Danville, Virginia, James I. Robertson, Jr., is currently writing a full-scale history of the Stonewall Brigade, a sketch of which recently appeared in CIVIL WAR HISTORY. In the following, his first contribution to THE CONTINUING WAR, of which he has now assumed the regular editorship. Mr. Robertson more than demonstrates his grasp of recent literature on the Civil War and his critical ability to interpret it meaningfully for our readers.*

NINETY-SEVEN YEARS HAVE ELAPSED since a christening of carnage guaranteed the future of our nation. Many of the battle-scarred terrains, once witnesses to American's bloodiest struggle, now are clothed in a quietness broken only by the sounds of Nature's family or the wanderings of a growing number of the interested—or the occasional but determined quest of an avid war student for some earth-yielding relic. Yet the serenity of the battlefields is misleading; the war lives on with vitality through many pens and presses. The discovery and publication of personal memoirs, the evaluation of campaigns and leaders in the light of modern scholarship, and the reissue of scarce and "classic" narratives, have been and are keeping us increasingly mindful of that all-American test of union, the Civil War.

Two commendable works open the fall season. Richard B. Harwell's *The Union Reader* begins with the fall of Fort Sumter and closes with the reinvestment of the Stars and Stripes over the crumbled debris of that once-proud stronghold. Like Mr. Harwell's well-received *The Confederate Reader* this Union counterpart is filled with excerpts from relatively unknown but contemporary works. It "is a work by many hands," writes its compiler. "In every case the writers were eyewitnesses to the most eventful days of American history. . . . The words of those who participated in our Civil War run with blood as well as with ink. In these words, hot from the heart, that the Americans of another day wrote for each other their day remains alive." Collectors of personal memoirs will find here the best cuts



of several rare literary gems. Here is pictured war as only those who saw that war could present it.

Earl Schenck Miers has written a thoroughly intriguing work, *The Great Rebellion*, which World released early this month. "This," Mr. Miers states, "is a book about the American people and what happened to them during one Christmas week, as a result of a tragic Thursday, and on a Palm Sunday." Three of the war's most crucial seven-day periods have been recreated: Christmas week, 1860, which heralded the beginning of the Southern Confederacy; the balmy seven days of April, 1861, when Sumter felt the fury of Southern batteries; and the week of Palm Sunday, 1865, when Lee and Grant met at Wilmer McLean's farmhouse and restored Unity to her rightful place beside Freedom. Mr. Miers has sought to recount the struggle that raged in American minds by describing only one per cent of that four-year period. It is a remarkable achievement.

Both above-mentioned authors have re-edited civilian accounts from within the Confederacy. Last month the University of Illinois Press released Fitzgerald Ross's *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*, edited by Mr. Harwell. These reminiscences of a keen-sighted Englishman were originally published in installments in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and were issued in book form in 1865. J. B. Jones's *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* was first published in 1866 and reprinted in 1935. Now Mr. Miers has prepared a new and comprehensively annotated edition of these daily entries by a gossipy Pennsylvanian who surveyed the struggle from a Richmond war office.

Cemetery Ridge is again alive with action as new studies examine Lee's ill-fated Pennsylvania campaign. Fairfax Downey's *The Guns at Gettysburg* is a graphic account of the role played there by artillery. The campaign from the Southern standpoint is presented by Clifford Dowdey in *Death of a Nation*. Bruce Catton has edited a new edition of Frank Haskell's eyewitness account, *The Battle of Gettysburg*. (At last report several new copies of the second edition, published in 1908, were still available from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin). Slated for fall release by Bobbs-Merrill is *High Tide at Gettysburg*, written by Glenn Tucker. And George Stewart is at work on a detailed account of Gettysburg's third day, when the bluecoats of Hancock and the graycoats of Pickett showed the world how brave men fight and die.

The wintry struggle of Lee and Burnside on the Fredericksburg plain has been told in Edward J. Stackpole's *Drama on the Rappahannock*. Admirers of G. F. R. Henderson will find his superb and very rare analysis of the same campaign now readily attainable. Jay Luvaas has edited Henderson's commentaries in *The Civil War: A Soldier's View*, released by the University of Chicago. Philip Van Doren Stern portrays the last salvos of the war in *An End To Valor*, one of the season's top studies. Kenneth P. Williams is putting the finishing touches to the fifth volume of his pro-

vocative *Lincoln Finds A General*. The Confederate medical corps has been analyzed by H. H. Cunningham in *Doctors in Gray*. This book forms a nice set with George W. Adams' *Doctors in Blue*, currently enjoying a re-vitalization of sales. *Why The Civil War?*, by Otto Eisenschiml, has entered the fray with the explosiveness of a head-on collision between Charles Sumner and Edmund Ruffin.

In answer to Robert Carse's *Blockade: A Story of The War On The High Seas*, Bobbs-Merrill will soon release *Blockade Runners of Confederacy*. Hamilton Cochran is the author. Ovid L. Futch is working diligently on his detailed examination of Andersonville. A recent master's thesis at Auburn by J. C. Gasser tells the story of the Confederate Marine Corps. Stanley E. Butcher is hard at work on a three-volume history of the Army of Tennessee. Volume one, already in manuscript form, will carry the army through the fading echoes of Shiloh. The second volume closes with the disaster at Missionary Ridge, and the third will complete the story with Johnston's surrender at Durham Station.

This issue's "sleeper": *The Civil War Letters of Colonel Hans Christian Heg*, edited by Theodore C. Blegen. These are the very revealing letters of an officer of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Infantry, who, while in temporary command of a brigade, was killed at Chickamauga. Dr. Coulter mentions this well-edited and well-illustrated work in his bibliography. The book was published in 1936, and, according to some price lists, would appear to be extremely scarce. However, new copies may still be ordered from The Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota. Price is \$3.62, postage included.

Biographical studies continue to illuminate further those in the higher echelons. On the Union side Warren Hassler, Jr., has given a new interpretation to "Little Mac" in *George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union*. Hans L. Trefousse has added a new volume on the life of Ben Butler, whose military career, if not confusing, is at least confounding. Milton S. Littlefield, a Federal brigadier but remembered more for his questionable Reconstruction policies in North Carolina and Florida, has been biographically baptized by Jonathan Daniels. Penn State Press has published Edward Nichols' study of General John Reynolds, *Toward Gettysburg*. Bruce Catton is completing the first book of his multi-volume life of Grant. It will be a continuation of Lloyd Lewis' *Captain Sam Grant*.

Garrett & Massie have published William Woods Hassler's *A. P. Hill: Lee's Forgotten General*. Although hampered by a scarcity of materials that has deterred earlier writers, Dr. Hassler has recorded an admirable account of the red-shirted and vivacious Powell Hill. Hal Bridges at Colorado is completing his study of D. H. Hill, often and erroneously considered a kinsman of Lee's corps commander. Another beloved rebel general, William J. Hardee, is the subject of a doctoral dissertation at Chapel Hill. Grady McWhiney, editor of the recent republication of *Lee's Confidential*

*Dispatches to Davis*, is on a year's leave of absence to finish the eagerly awaited biography of Braxton Bragg. Roberdeau Wheat, beloved commander of the rough "Louisiana Tigers," has been portrayed by Pie Dufour in a recent LSU release, *Gentle Tiger*.

In 1916 Jackson's namesake and nephew, T. J. Arnold, edited for Revell *The Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson*. For years this work has commanded a premium price. The Dietz Press has just published a limited and new edition. Interested parties can help to perpetuate the memory of Old Stonewall by ordering their copies (five dollars each) from the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Association, Lexington, Virginia.

Indiana University Press continues its republication of rare narratives. This fall it will release H. B. McClellan's scarce cavalry memoirs under the title *I Rode with Jeb Stuart*. Burke Davis is handling the editorship. Theodore Upson's *With Sherman to the Sea* will be edited by O. O. Winther and David Donald is putting the finishing touches to George Eggleston's description of Confederate army life, *A Rebel's Recollections*. Grosset has scheduled for fall release a one-volume edition of Bell Wiley's studies on the lives of Billy Yank and Johnny Reb.

The war in the West is fast becoming more familiar, due largely to the appearance of several personal narratives. Byron R. Abernethy has edited the reminiscences of Elisha Stockwell, Jr., a private in the Fourteenth Wisconsin, and Robert G. Athearn has completed the war letters of a Pennsylvania officer, Alfred L. Hough. Late this year McCowat-Mercer Press will supplement its *Kentucky Cavaliers in Dixie* with Irving A. Buck's *Cleburne and His Command*, which Neale first published in 1908. Thomas R. Hay is editing this extremely rare narrative. The University of Texas Press is publishing an excellent collection of war letters by Sergeant Edwin H. Fay, a member of the Minden (Louisiana) Rangers. Bell Wiley has edited the collection.

Dr. Wiley, currently at work on a history of the Confederacy for the New American Nation Series, has also made available a classic of the war in the East. This is *Recollections of A Confederate Staff Officer*, written by Longstreet's chief of staff, G. Moxley Sorrel. Dr. Freeman termed the reminiscences "famous and delightful" and second only to Dick Taylor's memoirs, which Richard Harwell edited sometime back. After a sellout of its 1939 edition, the University of California Press has issued in paperback form Abner R. Small's *The Road to Richmond*. Few Federal narratives equal this one for scope and human interest.

On November 10 Random House will publish the first of Shelby Foote's three-volume study, *The Civil War: A Narrative*. Volume one will carry the story from Sumter to Perryville. The same publisher will soon issue two war novels. *The House in Ruins*, by Robert S. Weekley, is the tale of a band of Mississippi soldiers who refused to surrender at the war's end.

Richard Schuster weaves a good story around Garfield's Kentucky campaign in *The Selfish and The Strong*.

Collectors, take note: the best extant personal narrative on the war in the Southwest can still be obtained. This is the day-by-day account (spanning four months) of Pvt. Ovando J. Hollister, a member of the First Colorado Volunteers. It was the task of this unit to stop the rampaging Texans of Henry Sibley from possibly wrapping up the whole West for the Confederacy. Having swept everything before them, the men from the Panhandle were racing across the New Mexico territory toward California when the Coloradans met them twice in ragged mountain passes. Hollister's narrative of this campaign was first published in 1863. It has become such a rarity that one large Western city library keeps its copy under lock and key. In 1949 the Golden Bell Press republished a limited edition under the title *Boldly They Rode*. A few copies of this second edition are still available from the publisher at 2400 Curtis Street, Denver 6, Colorado. It is a narrative worth far more than the four dollars it costs.

An unique type of collectors' item can be found in the facsimile copies of American sheet music published by *Musical Americana* (5458 Montgomery Avenue, Philadelphia) which in one of its series, "One Hundred Greats in American Sheet Music" includes many of the Civil War favorites that have been reviewed in this issue. Clearly reproduced on good stock this set of sheet music provides many fascinating details of 19th-century Americana, in their cover designs, their informative subtitles, laudatory details about composers and performing artists, and little-known second, third, and fourth verses and choruses. *Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!* ("or the Prisoner's Hope" . . . to be played "Tempo di Marcia") shows the original title page as an intaglio-like oval, inset in a montage of sentry guards, advancing cavalry, and color bearers, all representing other Root & Cady musical publications of the period. Favorites of the North include *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*, *The Old Union Wagon* ("Respectfully Dedicated/ to his Comrades the/ Indiana Regiment/ by John Hogarth Lozier"). *When Johnny Comes Marching Home*, *The Sour Apple Tree*, ("or Jeff Davis' Last Ditch" with a cartoon of Davis, in female dress, hastening toward a tree with a bag of gold in one hand and unsheathed knife in the other) and, in a restrained title cover of type-print only, *Battle Hymn of the Republic* ("Written by/ Mrs. Dr. S. G. Howe/ for the/ Atlantic Monthly"). Representing the songs of the South, the collection includes *Maryland! My Maryland!* (in three-four time and to be played andante), *God Save the South* (with the boldest of the covers showing both Confederate flag and shield) and—"To Albert G. Pike, Esq. The Poet Lawyer of Arkansas"—*The Bonnie Blue Flag* ("A Southern Patriotic Song/ Written, Composed and Sung At His Personation Concerts/ By/ Harry Macarthy,/ the Arkansas Comedian.")

## Book Reviews

EDITED BY CHARLES T. MILLER

B-11 University Hall

Iowa City, Iowa

*Kentucky Cavaliers in Dixie: The Reminiscences of a Confederate Cavalryman.* By George Dallas Mosgrove. Edited by Bell I. Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1957. Pp. xxvi, 281. \$6.00.)

THE WRITING OF SCORES OF CIVIL WAR BOOKS and the reappearance of old ones in modern dress are characteristic of the 1950's. Like the sack style and rock 'n roll, aspects of this trend are often deplored by people who consider themselves discriminating. One wonders whether the numerous volumes in question are really worth the shockingly high prices asked by publishers and retailers in this bizarre decade. Would they have been issued or reissued on the basis of scholarly contributions, without vanity or money as an overriding motive? If the flood of Civil War titles is not to recede before the end of the centennial in 1965, wary readers may betake themselves to literary mountaintops—there to await the inevitable recession while communing with the Sandburgs and the Freemans.

*Kentucky Cavaliers in Dixie* is a happy exception to the absence of quality for which many old and new books in the field have been adversely criticized. George Dallas Mosgrove's literary skill ranges from above average to superior. The fact that he was a dedicated soldier, familiar with the history of Morgan's Raiders, and himself a participant in their exploits, clothed him with a mantle of authority when in 1895 he produced his reminiscences of a Confederate cavalryman. Originally brought out in a limited edition, his work ultimately became a collector's item. Now, for the first time in over half a century, it is made available to substantial numbers of persons interested in The War.

Here we have the color and the drama and also much of the brutality and bitterness of fighting. The halcyon days at Camp Buckner and the wholesale slaughter of Negroes at Saltville epitomize the sunshine and shadow of contrasting experiences. It is a far cry from the handkerchief-waving girls, rushing out

from the sheltered precincts of the Oxford Female Academy, to the frozen bodies of dead soldiers seen by Kentuckians on their march toward Front Royal—lying stark and stiff on the roadside, “piteous and ghastly in the dim moonlight.” Mosgrove’s method is not a usual one. Accounts of campaigning in East Tennessee, advance and retreat in the Bluegrass State, and General John Hunt Morgan’s capture, escape, “betrayal,” and death are interspersed with pen portraits of officers and enlisted men who were the author’s comrades-at-arms. Humphrey Marshall, William Preston, and John C. Breckinridge are portrayed, together with the “lithe, graceful” Henry L. Giltner, the “witty and immensely popular” Sam Duncan, and Thomas E. Moore who is characterized as an “officer *sans peur et sans reproche*.”

“When Knighthood Was in Flower” might well have been the caption placed at the head of more than one chapter, for Mosgrove was an incurable romantic. Not only Shakespeare, Cervantes, Hugo, and Lamb but Sir Walter Scott and Theodore O’Hara are quoted in various parts of the book. So many of the officers are described as “handsome” that it is something of a shock when the reader finds the adjective occasionally omitted from the laurel-wreathed tributes. Most of Morgan’s men were exemplary, by Mosgrove’s standards. Their cause was the right one, their purpose the pure one, their conduct the heroic one if he is to be believed.

Yet if Captain Bart Jenkins was “a military genius,” Captain Edward O. Guerrant “Chesterfieldian,” and General Basil W. Duke “a veritable Prince Rupert or Henry of Navarre,” few Civil War books devote comparable space to quartermasters, sergeant majors, commissaries, and assistant surgeons. There was a “Mudwall” as well as a “Stonewall” Jackson. And balance is restored somewhat when one learns that gallant Confederates did not always win, and especially when Mosgrove’s pervasive humor offsets his emphasis on the chivalric. “What in h—ll does all this mean—going into camp in the presence of the enemy?” one of “Cerro Gordo” Williams’ troopers demanded. His comrade nonchalantly replied, “Strategy, my boy, strategy!” To which the first speaker rejoined, “Strategy, h—ll!” There is also the reference to J. Harvey Dorman’s finding a journal on the dead body of a Federal soldier at Wytheville, the diarist having been killed before he could make an entry for that day. Dorman filled it in for the Yank: “May 10, 1864. I was killed to-day.” Macabre jesting, that, but jesting none the less.

Bell I. Wiley, the editor, has made several contributions to the 1957 book. In his illuminating introduction and his well-chosen illustrations, in the appendices and the new index, he has given fresh evidence of sound judgment and scholarship. The text itself has been retained in its form of sixty-three years ago. It is essentially a period piece, mirroring the mind and heart of a nostalgic one-room public school teacher—who, from the day of Appomattox until his own death in 1907, must have gloried in the years of his youth and the image of himself as an inspired patriot following the immortal Morgan as a minor Bayard of the Stars and Bars.

HOLMAN HAMILTON

Lexington, Kentucky.



*Chicago Giant: A Biography of "Long John" Wentworth.* By Don E. Fehrenbacher. (Madison, Wisconsin: The American History Research Center. 1957. Pp. vii, 278. \$4.50.)

IN THIS WORK MR. FEHRENBACHER HAS MADE a substantial contribution to American history, particularly to the history of Chicago and the state of Illinois. For readers of Civil War history, the book will be of special interest in its portrayal of the pressures of conflicting ideas and loyalties upon a northern Democratic Congressman in the years just before the Civil War.

John Wentworth arrived in Chicago in 1836—a Chicago of some four thousand people huddled on a marshy plain on the shore of Lake Michigan. Entering the rough and tumble of Chicago politics as the virulent editor of the *Chicago Democrat*, he managed to buy the paper in July, 1837. In a period marked by vigorous but irresponsible journalists, Wentworth's columns, shrewdly based in fact, made the *Democrat* a power to be reckoned with in Illinois.

Subsequently, Wentworth served as Congressman from 1843 to 1851 and from 1853 to 1855, as Mayor of Chicago from 1857 to 1858 and from 1860 to 1861, and again as Congressman from 1865 to 1867. With two terms as mayor and six terms in the House of Representatives, his political experience attained considerable depth. Always aggressive and controversial, he entered politics as a Jacksonian Democrat, but by 1857 was a reluctant Republican and by 1865 a Radical Republican. It is this shift in party affiliation which will be of greatest interest to Civil War readers.

The slavery issue started the pendulum swing of Wentworth's career when he became the only Democrat from Illinois to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. He was the only Illinoisan to vote against the Utah Territory Bill (which neither forbade nor authorized slavery). As Mr. Fehrenbacher notes, Wentworth was subjected to "painfully contradictory pressures from his constituents, on the one hand, and the leaders of the Illinois Democracy, on the other." He castigated Pierce for supporting the "Border Ruffians"; he fought popular sovereignty, and finally attended the anti-Nebraska convention held in Bloomington in 1856, although he denied being a Republican. In February, 1857, however, he was nominated for Mayor of Chicago by the Republican party, and on March 3 was elected the First Republican Mayor of Chicago.

In the Presidential campaign of 1860, Wentworth favored Lincoln, but ardently espoused the abolitionist cause, to the discomfiture of Illinois Republicans, who hardly wished to emphasize this faction of their party. So strong were his pronouncements for "Black Republicanism" that some feared a secret Democratic plot was under way to sabotage the Republican party. When Fort Sumter capitulated, Wentworth was a leader in raising troops and supporting the war effort. But he was not suited either physically or temperamentally for the vigors of army life. He is supposed to have exclaimed: "Great heavens above! If I had physical courage equal to my moral courage, I would make a splendid commander."

To sum up, *Chicago Giant* is a well written, thoroughly documented, entertaining biography of a man significant in Illinois history. In many ways, this

study of John Wentworth points out the dilemma of northern Democrats in the years prior to the Civil War; the conflict between party loyalty and personal conviction is admirably set forth. Complete with a comprehensive bibliography and index, *Chicago Giant* is highly recommended to all students of American history.

CLYDE C. WALTON

Springfield, Illinois.

*Congressman Abraham Lincoln.* By Donald W. Riddle. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 280. \$4.50.)

IN HIS PREFACE TO THIS STUDY, Mr. Riddle states that he has "thoroughly investigated" Lincoln's one term in Congress and that "this field is now covered." Undoubtedly the author has made extensive researches into the sources that touched on Lincoln's rather undistinguished single term in the House of Representatives. It appears, however, that Mr. Riddle finds it necessary to extol the virtues and rectitude of President Polk while growing impatient with Lincoln and actually suspecting his motives. The portrait of Congressman Lincoln that emerges from this account is not as fully drawn as one might wish. To the author Lincoln's term in Congress was marked by mediocrity and low-level partisan politics.

Some facts must be remembered, even though the attention Lincoln drew to himself as a Congressman was not favorable. When he took his seat in the House on December 8, 1847, he was not a green novice about to "wreck his career during his first week in Congress." He had fifteen years of Illinois politics behind him as well as a growing reputation as an attorney. He had an ability to see things clearly which had earned him the respect of all who knew him. As a man who was to develop an ability to keep a sure finger on the pulse of the people to an eminent degree, it is true that Lincoln somehow missed in judging the reaction to his resolutions. When he offered the "spot resolutions," condemning President Polk's Mexican war policy, his fine distinction between the courage of American soldiers in Mexico and his contention that Polk ordered the war to be begun on Mexican soil was all one to the folks at home. Quick to play up Lincoln's views, though distorting his whole meaning by implying that he roundly condemned the American soldiers themselves, the newspapers made short work of his immediate political future by labeling him "Spots" Lincoln.

Perhaps the choice of a partisan issue was one Lincoln just couldn't warm up to sufficiently to spark his genius for the right words. Whatever was lacking, it is certain there was no want of courage in the man if he at all sensed the possible repercussions his stand would generate. An assiduous reader of newspapers, as Lincoln was known to be, must have realized what they could do to his "resolutions" and how they might interpret his motives.

Over the years many students of Lincoln's brief interlude in Congress have come to the conclusion that Polk did order the war begun on Mexican soil, as Lincoln contended in 1847. While hindsight somehow manages to take in the entire picture, the careful historian cannot ignore the possible perspective of the

men in the period he is studying. The day-to-day concerns of the men who sat in Congress a hundred years ago did not always get into the written annals of the time. Attempting to fill in these gaps can be risky.

In his study, Mr. Riddle has treated the lively skirmish for the General Land Office in full detail. It is a revealing account, which shows Lincoln as a man who knew when to be silent even though an injustice had been done to him, and who could be magnanimous. Flashes of the great strength of character which would later distinguish the man appear in this book, and for these clear insights and his review of the patronage scramble Mr. Riddle deserves a hearty commendation.

ARNOLD GATES

Garden City, New York.

*Lincoln's Commando.* By Ralph J. Roske and Charles Van Doren. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. x, 310. \$4.50.)

IN THE METHODICAL AND DETERMINED SLAUGHTER that men call the game of war there are always individuals who defy rules of caution and not only survive but manage to perform unbelievable feats. Of such a mold was Commander William B. Cushing, U.S.N. In the words of Gideon Welles, "his brief, adventurous and heroic achievements furnish some of the brightest pages in our naval annals." Biographers Roske and Van Doren have turned to Cushing's letters and contemporary records to detail the life of an extraordinary young man.

When William Cushing entered Annapolis as a naval cadet at fifteen, nearly half of his life was behind him. Almost as though he sensed that premium on time, Cushing would not hew to the line or plod diligently with studies and drills. During his first year at Annapolis he received 99 demerits. During the second year he boasted that to 188. Although full of high spirits and a restless urge to be doing something, Cushing still managed to stand high in his studies. His health was never good, and since the Academy had nothing in the way of organized physical exercise the "endless grind of acquiring knowledge" drove him to pranks. A joke at the expense of his Spanish instructor finally backfired. Will Cushing was marked deficient in Spanish in the February, 1861, examination and "not recommended for continuance at the Academy."

Promptly after Fort Sumter was fired on, William Cushing went to Secretary of Navy Welles and asked to be used in the naval service. He was made an acting master's mate in the United States Volunteer Navy and sent to the U.S.S. frigate "Minnesota." Aboard, Cushing was assigned to the berth deck which, he later observed, was "the lowest of all positions in a man o' war." Undaunted, he wrote to his cousin that he was "an officer aboard the splendid steam frigate Minnesota. We have just left our moorings, and as I write we are moving under steam and sail out of Boston Harbor. I am going to fight under the old banner of freedom. I may never return, but if I should die, it shall be under the folds of the flag that sheltered my infancy and while striking a blow for its honor and my own." In a characteristic tone he added, "Wherever there is fighting, there we will be, and where there is danger in the battle, *there will I be*, for I will gain a name in this war."

Coming from a brash youngster, Cushing's words could be marked off to youthful exuberance. It is only as one reads the further adventures of the man from Fredonia, New York, that it becomes apparent that here was a young man who meant what he said. Ever ready to take the long chance, he had the quick wit necessary for accomplishment. In one instance the blockading squadron, of which the "Minnesota" was a part, captured three schooners, and Cushing was assigned to take one to Philadelphia. The second night out a storm came up. The untrained crew all but gave up when a large vessel bore down on the schooner, and only Cushing's quick action in springing to the wheel prevented them from being cut in two.

In late July of 1861 Cushing heard of a proposed reconnaissance expedition up the Back River and instantly volunteered. Five launches set out with Cushing in the first. While not an important mission it managed to destroy Confederate property. In October Cushing was warranted a midshipman and ordered to the "Cambridge." Other forays followed, with Cushing in the middle of each one. They were but further preparation for the one big adventure that was to headline William Cushing's name in newspapers throughout the Union. Just before that event he was made a lieutenant. He was now nineteen and executive officer of the "Commodore Perry." More adventures followed and led to his command of the "Commodore Barney."

The "Albemarle" was a huge Confederate ironclad ram, 158 feet long and over 35 feet in beam. It was constructed for the express purpose of maneuvering the Federal forces out of Plymouth. When completed, the "Albemarle" moved slowly down the Roanoke River, toward that Union-held town. Along the way it encountered two heavily armed Union steamers, sank one by ramming and heavily mauled the other. The ironclad then blasted at the Plymouth fortifications until the defenders surrendered. After several battles with Union gunboats, in which the "Albemarle" came out victorious, Federal officers gloomily concluded that "she is too strong for us."

The stage was now set for William Cushing. He was called in and asked if he could lead an expedition to destroy the powerful ironclad. Cushing said he could. After a preliminary try, he finally was ready with a power launch and picked crew. On a cloudy night in October, 1864, the expedition started up the Roanoke. When the "Albemarle" was sighted, Cushing had the launch maneuver so that he could head directly toward its side at top speed, clear the protective outrigger of heavy logs that had been placed around the ironclad, lower a long boom with a torpedo at the far end, set it off, and dive into the water. With his usual flare for long chances, Cushing managed to escape and make his way back to his ship. Even while doing that, he made it his business to find out how successful he had been with his torpedo. It had made a hole in the bottom of the "Albemarle" big enough "to drive a wagon through."

Warm praise came from all directions for Cushing's latest exploit. Abraham Lincoln recommended that Congress extend a vote of thanks to him and that he be advanced one grade.

After the Civil War, Cushing continued in the service but this period was almost an anticlimax to his adventurous life. The routines of the peacetime

navy were more to be endured than enjoyed. Never robust and always plagued with colds and other ailments, Cushing developed severe back pains and, after a short period of confinement, died on December 17, 1875. He was thirty-two years old and an "old salt" in the best traditions of the United States Navy.

Cushing's life reads like adventure fiction. Without once resorting to sensational reporting, the authors have mirrored the exuberance and enthusiasm of the man who could match a romantic and dauntless spirit with the best the Confederates had to offer.

ARNOLD GATES

Garden City, New York.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Abernethy, Byron R., ed. *Private Elisha Stockwell, Jr. Sees the Civil War.*

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 210. \$3.75.)

Adams, E. D. *Great Britain and the American Civil War.* 2 volumes in one.

(New York: Russell and Russell. No date. Pp. Vol. I, xi, 307; Vol. II, vii, 340. \$10.00.)

Anderson, John Q. *A Texas Surgeon in the C. S. A.* ("Confederate Centennial Studies," No. 6; Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Company. 1957. Pp. 123. \$4.00.)

Bloch, J. M. *Miscegenation, Melaleukation, and Mr. Lincoln's Dog.* (New York: Schaum Publishing Company. 1958. Pp. 69. No price indicated.)

Cunningham, H. H. *Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 339. \$6.00.)

Haskell, Frank A. *The Battle of Gettysburg.* Edited by Bruce Catton. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1958. Pp. xviii, 169. \$3.50.)

Jordan, Weymouth T. *Rebels in the Making: Planters' Conventions and Southern Propaganda.* ("Confederate Centennial Studies," No. 7; Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Company. 1958. Pp. 135. \$4.00.)

Lincoln, Abraham. *Speeches and Letters.* Introduction by Paul M. Angle. ("Everyman's Library," No. 206; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1957. p. xiii, 300. No price indicated.)

Sorrel, G. Moxley. *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer.* Edited by Bell I. Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1958. Pp. xxii, 322. \$5.00.)

Stern, Philip Van Doren. *An End to Valor: The Last Days of the Civil War.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1958. Pp. xi, 418. \$5.75.)

Tilley, John Shipley. *Lincoln Takes Command.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xxxvii, 334. \$5.00.)

## Notes & Queries

EDITED BY BOYD B. STUTLER

517 Main Street

Charleston, West Virginia

Mr. Stutler himself suggested that we omit his "Notes & Queries" from this longer-than-usual issue so that we could include within the covers of one number as many as possible of the unique and distinctive contributions on Civil War music that scholars and experts from all over the United States have prepared for it. "Notes & Queries" will again appear in December.







